THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

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CHINA REVIEW

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A RE-TRANSLATION

BY

PROFESSOR H. A. GILES, LL.D.

The strange poem which is dealt with in the following pages is one of the famous 楚 辭 Rhapsodies of the Ch'u State, formerly known under the inaccurate title of "Elegies of Tsoo." Its authorship is a matter of dispute. Some say that it was the work of 景 差, Ching Ch'a, fourth century B.C., but the majority of critics favour its attribution to his more famous contemporary, 屈 原, Ch'ü Yüan. The latter had been dismissed for nine years. He was greatly distressed over the troubles of the times; he felt that vitality was slipping away from his physical frame, and that death was at hand. Therefore he called upon his two souls, the subliminal and the supraliminal, the *anima* and the *umbra* (verses 1 and 6), to remain with him, their united presence being indispensable to the prolongation of his life. Otherwise, throughout the poem the appeal is to the subliminal soul only, the inducements

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offered being the manifold delights to be found in the Ch'u State and the virtue of the reigning Prince who, like the famous Rulers of old, would be sure to seek out good and capable men to assist in the administration of government.

A version of this difficult rhapsody was published in *The Statesman* of 31st May, 1919, as "Translated by Arthur Waley," and reproduced in "More Translations from the Chinese," 1919. It was a bold attempt; and as a free, too free paraphrase—without the excuse of rhyme—it would have had a chance of escaping criticism; but as a translation, in justice to the poet and to readers who cannot verify from the original text, a good deal of amendment is necessary. Hence the attempt contained in the following pages, which may in turn be capable of improvement at the hands of students resident in China who can enlist, as I cannot, the services of a well-educated native scholar.

招　大

魂　冥　春　青 (1)

魄　淩　氣　春
歸　浹　奮　受
徠　行　發　謝
無　魂　萬　白
遠　無　物　日
遙　逃　遽　昭
只　只　只　只

A Great Summons

(1) The green spring comes and goes; the sun is brightly shining.[1]
The breath of spring rushes forth; all things are in movement,
The Dark Spirit[2] everywhere disappears—O my soul, do not flee!
O my souls,[3] come home and stray not afar!

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1. This difficult line means, literally, that spring is received and then sent on its way by the arrival of summer. The same words are used by Huai-nan Tzŭ in reference to the arrival and departure of the sun in Fu-sang. The sun plunges into the western ocean at nightfall, finds its way to Fu-sang, where it is received and forwarded on next morning. Mr. Waley translates: "Green spring receiveth the vacant earth"; but there are no such words as either "vacant" or "earth."

2. 北方之神也. The term may well be rendered by "Winter," as Mr. Waley takes it; but his version is scarcely close enough for a translator who claims to be strictly literal.

3. It is important to note here that the poet addresses, not his "soul," as Mr. Waley has it, but his two souls, the *hun*, the subliminal self, and *p'o*, the supraliminal self, the combination of which means life and the separation of which means death. Elsewhere, with one exception, the appeal is to the *hun* only, as in line 3.

魂 霧 螭 東 魂 (2)
乎歸徠無東無西無南無北只
有大海溺水漫漫只
龍並流上下悠悠只
雨淫淫白皓膠只
乎無東湯谷宋只

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(2) O my soul, come home; go not east, west, south, or north.

In the east there is the great ocean with its wide swirling waters.[1]

Dragons, with and without horns, swim there, up and down, squirming;[2]

Fogs and rain abound, with sheets of glittering ice;

O my soul, go not east to the desolate T'ang Valley.

1. So the commentary, though 弱水, the "Weak Water," the Oceanus of the Greeks, is certainly suggested by 溺. Mr. Waley seems to over-elaborate with, "For to the east a mighty water drowneth Earth's other shore."

2. Mr. Waley has, "Tossed on its waves and heaving with its tides the hornless Dragon of the Ocean rideth."

魂　　鰅　　山　　魂 (3)
乎　　鰡　　林　　乎
無南南有炎火千里蝮
南蜮傷躬只　　短狐王虺毒只　　險隘虎豹蜿只
蛇蜒只

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(3) O my soul, do not go south, where there is a mighty fire, a thousand *li* in extent, with great poisonous serpents,
Mountains, forests, dangerous passes, tigers and leopards creeping about,
Bovine monstrosities,[1] devilish creatures, and pythons raising their heads.
O my soul, do not go south, where malignant things will injure your body.[2]

1. Mr. Waley has "water-scorpions," in which he includes the "short foxes"; but the commentary says 狀如犛牛也, and makes "short foxes" a generic term for horrid forms.

2. Mr. Waley has, "Where the three-footed tortoise spits disease." This is gloss from a commentary. The *yüe* is variously said to spit sand, poison, and vapour, but these legends are later than the poem.

魂　長　豕　魂 (4)

乎　無　西　西　方　流　沙　洋
首　縱　目　被　髮　鬤　只
爪　踞　牙　誅　笑　狂　只
乎　無　西　多　害　傷　只

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(4) O my soul, do not go west, where there are boundless quicksands,[1]
Beings with pigs' heads and vertical eyes,[2] wild dishevelled hair,[3]
Long claws and jagged teeth,[4] grinning with maniacal laughter.
O my soul, go not west, to suffer manifold grievous injuries.

1. Mr. Waley has "level stretches of sand," (2) "bulging eyes," (3) "hairy-skinned," and (4) "projecting fangs." 鋸 evidently stands for 鋸.

魂　天　代　魂 (5)
乎　白　水　乎
無　顥　不　無
往　顥　可　北
盈　寒　涉　北
北　凝　深　有
極　凝　水　寒
只　只　不　逴
　　可　龍
　　測　艷
　　只　只

(5) O my soul, go not north, where lies the cold mountain Cho-lung,[1] red ;[2]
Also the river Tai, which cannot be forded and is too deep to be plumbed ;
And where the sky is glitteringly white, and all is congealed by cold,[3]
O my soul, go not thither, to be engulfed in the north polar region.

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1. Mr. Waley has "the Lame Dragon"; (2) he omits this word, which is explained as "without vegetation"; (3) and has here "the cold cuts and kills."

魂　窮　逞　自　魂　(6)
乎　身　志　恣　魄
歸　徠　究　荆　楚　徠　閒　以　靜　只
徠　樂　永　樂　年　壽　延　只
樂　不　可　言　只

(6) O my souls, come home to leisure and repose;
Enjoy yourselves in Ching and Ch'u, settling down in peace;
Give play to your bent, satisfy your desires, let your mind be at peace;[1]
Take your fill of happiness, and so prolong your years,[2]
O my soul, come home to happiness unspeakable.

1. Mr. Waley has "till sorrow is forgot"; (2) "And carelessness shall bring you length of days."

魂　內　鼎　五　(7)
乎　鶬　臑　穀
歸　鴿　盈　六
徠　鵠　望　仞
恣　味　豺　羣　只
所　嘗　只

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(7) The five grains are (in stacks) of six *jen*[1] (in height),
and *ku*[2] and *liang*[3] will be served.
See the caldrons of cooked food, with their salt, sour,
peppery, and gingery flavours combined ;[4]
With crane and dove and heron, and wolf to make the
soup tasty.[5]
O my soul, come home and enjoy eating them.

1. Variously given as a measure of 7 feet and 8 feet.

2, 3. An aquatic grain (*Zizania aquatica*, L.) and common spiked millet. Mr. Waley has "millet and bearded maize."

4. Mr. Waley has, "Guests watch the steaming bowls and sniff the pungency of peppered herbs."

5. Mr. Waley has, "The cunning cook adds slices of bird-flesh, pigeon and yellow-heron and black-crane. They taste the badger-stew." The "cunning cook" does not appear in the poem, but will be found in the commentary, 宰夫巧 etc.

魂 吳 醢 鮮 (8)
乎 酸 豚 蠵
歸 蒿 苦 甘
徠 蔆 狗 鷄
恣 不 膾 和
所 沾 苴 楚
擇 薄 蓴 酪
只 只 只 只

(8) We have fresh turtle (soup) and fat chicken, and with
them koumiss from Ch'u ;[1]
Sucking-pig with gravy, and "bitter dog,"[2] and minced
jang-ho,[3]
With *kao* and *lou* in vinegar from Wu, neither too thick
nor too thin.[4]
O my soul, come home and enjoy your choice of these.

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1. Mr. Waley has, "Sweet chicken cooked in cheese, pressed by the men of Ch'u."

2. This term is explained as dog cooked with its liver in the gravy; but this is not found where Mr. Waley puts it, in the text.

3. *Lilium giganteum*, Wall. Mr. Waley has, "with salad of minced radishes in brine."

4. *Kao* and *lou* are distinguished by the commentator as two different species of artemisia or southernwood. For this line Mr. Waley has, "All served with that hot spice of southernwood the land of Wu supplies." This rendering ignores the second half of the line altogether.

魂	煎	炙	(9)
乎	鵾	鵠	
歸	臛	烝	
徠	雀	鳧	
麗	遽	炰	
以	爽	鶉	
先	存	鶴	
只	只	只	

(9) We have broiled *kua*,[1] steamed wild-duck, and stewed quail, all set forth;
Fried perch and fat birds, with their delicious flavour.
O my soul, come home; the choicest dishes will be offered first.

1. The commentary says 鷹鵠, which is the black crane. Mr. Waley has "Roasted daw, steamed widgeon, and grilled quail, on every fowl they fare. Boiled perch and sparrow broth," etc.

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魂　吳　清　四 (10)
乎　醴　馨　酎
歸　白　凍　幷
徠　蘗　飲　孰
不　和　不　不
遽　楚　歇　醒
惕　瀝　役　嗌
只　只　只　只

(10) The four wines are all hot, and will not rasp your throat,
With clear fragrant wine, to be drunk cold,[1] unfit for common men,
And the sweet wine of Wu, mixed with rice-yeast, like the wine of Ch'u.[2]
O my soul, come home, and end your cares.

1. Mr. Waley has, "How fragrant rise their fumes, how cool their taste!", as if referring to the four wines of the previous line, which can scarcely be "warming at the fire," as Mr. Waley says, and also "cool" to the taste. The Chinese warm their wine by standing pewter wine-kettles in hot water.

2. Out of these eight difficult characters, Mr. Waley gets, "And wise distillers from the land of Wu blend unfermented spirit with white yeast and brew the *li* of Ch'u,"—shewing, right or wrong, how impossible it is to make literal translations of obscure Chinese poems.

魂　謳　代　代 (11)
乎　和　戲　秦
歸　揚　駕　鄭
徠　阿　辯　衛
定　趙　簫　鳴　竽　張
空　倡　勞　商
桑　只　只　只

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(11) The reed-organs of Tai, Ch'in, Chêng, and Wei, shall be blown;
The *Chia-pien* of Fu Hsi, and the *Lao-shang* of Ch'u, shall be sung,
And the *Ou-ho* and *Yang-o*, led by the flutes of Chao.
O my soul, come home, and fix the "hollow mulberry."[1]

1. Mr. Waley's rendering of this verse must be quoted in full:

> Reed-organs from the lands of T'ai (*sic*) and Ch'in
> And Wei and Cheng
> Gladden the feasters, and old songs are sung;
> The "Rider's Song" that once
> Fu Hsi, the ancient monarch made;
> And the harp-songs of Ch'u.
> Then after prelude from the flutes of Chao
> The ballad-singer's voice rises alone,
> O Soul come back to the hollow mulberry-tree!

There are several points in the above which invite criticism. Various attempts have been made to translate the titles of the songs, but none that I know of which could have suggested the "Rider's Song," the only title which Mr. Waley attempts. Such term as "harp-songs," and "the harp" as an explanation of the "hollow mulberry," are obvious anachronisms, since the harp was not known in China until many centuries later. "Hollow mulberry," we are told, is a name for the 瑟, psaltery, which was roughly made by stretching strings across a piece of hollow mulberry-wood. In reference to the appearance of the harp in China, see some interesting remarks in Vol. I of this REVIEW, p. 626; and see also the beautiful picture opposite to p. 164.

二八接舞只 投詩賦只
叩鐘調磬 娛人亂只
四上競氣 極聲變只
魂乎歸徠 聽歌譔只 (12)

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(12) Sixteen (girls) join in the dance, singing both *shih* and *fu* as they move,[1]
They tap the bell and strike the stone, to mark the time.[2]
The above four compete with one another, exhausting their efforts to succeed.[3]
O my soul, come home, and listen to the songs prepared.

1. Mr. Waley paraphrases delightfully,—

> Eight and eight the dancers sway,
> Weaving their steps to the poet's voice
> Who speaks his odes and rhapsodies.

2. For the last four words of this line, Mr. Waley has, "Rigidly, lest harp and flute should mar the measure." I am unable to find these words in the commentary, still less in the text.

3. For the last five words Mr. Waley has, "Till not a tune is left unsung that human voice could sing." The four who compete are usually considered to be the four States of the preceding verse; but some understand the term to refer to (1) the reed-organs of the four States, (2) the *Chia pien* (3) the *Lao-shang*, and (4) the flutes of Chao.

魂	豐	比	朱	(13)
乎	肉	德	脣	
歸	微	好	皓	
徠	骨	閒	齒	
安	調	習	嫭	
以	以	以	以	
舒	娛	都	姱	
只	只	只	只	

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(13) There are red lips and gleaming white teeth to attract you,
Selected for their skill and beauty, and practised in ceremonial,[1]
Plump and small-boned, and of seductive mien.
O my soul, come home, be at peace and relax your mind.

1. Mr. Waley has, "But meek and virtuous trained in every art; fit sharers of play-time." 德 has other meanings than "virtue," which would hardly be appropriate here, unless perhaps qualified as "easy."

魂	容	嫮	(14)
乎	則	目	
歸	秀	宜	
徠	雅	笑	
靜	穉	娥	
以	朱	眉	
安	顏	曼	
只	只	只	

(14) There are eyes full of laughter, and wide moth-eyebrows,
Refined features, youthful, and pink-complexioned,
O my soul, come home, and repose with them in peace.

魂	小	滂	曾	姱	(15)
乎	腰	心	頰	脩	
歸	秀	綽	倚	滂	
徠	頸	態	耳	浩	
思	若	姣	曲	麗	
怨	鮮	麗	眉	以	
移	卑	施	規	佳	
只	只	只	只	只	

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(15) There are beauties tall and sympathetic, lovely of form and face
With well-covered jaws, lobed ears, and eyebrows curved as with compasses,
Large-hearted, of varying mien, displaying ready wit,
With slender waists, and fair long necks like the gazelle,[1]
O my soul, come home, and be quit of your troubled thoughts.

1. Mr. Waley paraphrases the last two verses freely and sometimes incorrectly, as follows :

Then enter other ladies with laughing lips
And side-long glances under moth-eyebrows;
Whose cheeks are fresh and red:
Ladies both great of heart and long of limb,
Whose beauty by sobriety is matched.
Well-padded cheeks and ears with curving rim,
High-arching eyebrows, as with compass drawn,
Great hearts and loving gestures—all are there:
Small waists and necks as slender as the clasp
Of courtiers' brooches.

The last five words by which Mr. Waley renders 鮮卑, *Hsien-pi*, the name of the ancient tribe which originally occupied the mountains and glens of south-east Mongolia, are conspicuously impossible as applied to the beautiful necks of girls. The allusion is to the figure of an animal which ornamented the round metal buckle on the belt of these Tartars ; *q.d.* the gazelle, which is found in the Hsien-pi country.

(16)

魂	長	粉	易
乎	袂	白	中
歸	拂	黛	利
徠	面	黑	心
以	善	施	以
娛	留	芳	動
昔	客	澤	作
只	只	只	只

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(16) There are those who divert thoughts and please by their movements,
With rouge and powder and pencilled eyebrow and perfumes;
With their long sleeves they brush the face, skilled to detain the guest,[1]
O my soul, come home, and have some festive nights.

1. Mr. Waley makes them "pluck the coats of those who will not stay,"—a harmless and not inappropriate gloss.

魂	豐	靨	青	(17)
乎	肉	輔	色	
歸	微	奇	直	
徠	骨	牙	眉	
恣	體	宜	美	
所	便	笑	目	
便	娟	嘕	媔	
只	只	只	只	

(17) There are black, straight eyebrows, beautiful eyes, quick to understand,
Cheeks and fine teeth which break into smiles,
Plump of flesh, of slender bones, lending grace to the body.
O my soul, come home, and enjoy all these comforts.[1]

1. Mr. Waley has inadvertently omitted this verse altogether.

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夏	南	曲	騰	瓊	菴	茷	魂
屋	房	屋	駕	轂	蘭	乎	
廣	小	步	步	錯	桂	歸	
大	壇	堰	遊	衡	樹	徠	
沙	觀	宜	獵	英	鬱	恣	
堂	絕	擾	春	華	彌	志	
秀	霤	畜	圍	假	路	慮	
只	只	只	只	只	只	只	

(18) There is a mansion[1] with spacious rooms, red-coloured and elegant ;
In the southern building is a small hall, with a belvedere looking down on a stream of water ; [2]
And round the building runs a long flight of stone steps, where trained animals should be used.
There will be driving in chariots, or walking on foot, and hunting in spring in the park,
With jewelled wheels and yokes inlaid (with silver), blazing with radiance,
While orchids and cassia-trees fill the roads with their scent.
O my soul, come home, and enjoy yourself with these.

1. Mr. Waley makes "a summer-house" out of 夏屋; but 夏 is here 大 or 高; (2) "a little closet reached by a winding stair."

3. This difficult line is rendered by Mr. Waley, "And round the house a covered way should run where horses might be trained." But the commentary says that 步櫩 (or 櫩) means 長砌, and 擾畜 trained animals should be used because 其路險狹 is dangerous and narrow. Perhaps some one will throw more light.

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(19)

孔	鵾	鴻	魂
雀	鴻	鶤	乎
盈	鶤	代	歸
園	晨	遊	徠
畜	雜	曼	鳳
鶯	鴛	鵠	皇
皇	鵝	鶤	翔
只	只	只	只

(19) Peacocks shall fill your garden, and the *luan* and the phœnix shall be kept;
The *kun* and the stork shall gather at their times, and mix with the adjutant;
Herons shall come along, with flocks of turquoise-kingfishers.[1]
O my soul, come home, and be a circling phœnix.[2]

1. Mr. Waley has—

Peacocks shall fill your garden : you shall rear
The roc, and phœnix, and red jungle-fowl
Whose cry at dawn assembles river-storks
To join the play of cranes and ibises;
Where the wild swan all day
Pursues the glint of idle kingfishers.

On this it may be remarked that the *luan* (Mr. Waley's "roc," a term which is consecrated to Chuang Tzŭ's 鵬) is a fabulous bird associated by the Chinese with fire. The *kun* (Mr. Waley's "red jungle-fowl") is described as like a barn-door fowl, only larger. "At their times" in my rendering is said to be the interpretation of 晨, the *kun* crowing at dawn and the stork presiding over midnight. I can find no word suitable for "ibis."

2. Mr. Waley translates 鳳 皇 翔 只 by "and watch the birds in flight." The commentary gives it a more lofty turn. The returning soul is to be what the phœnix is supposed to be, namely, a virtuous influence; an influence which, to judge from some of the attractions enumerated, would find plenty of work to do.

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魂　室　永　曼 (20)
乎　家　宜　澤
歸　盈　厠　怡
徠　廷　身　面
居　爵　保　血
室　祿　壽　氣
定　盛　命　盛
只　只　只　只

(20) Your face will beam with gratification, your vitality will be largely increased ;
For ever and ever united with your body, you will secure an old age ; [1]
Your family will fill the Court, and honours and emoluments will abound.
O my soul, come home, and settle down there, for good.[2]

1. Mr. Waley indulges here in exuberant paraphrase. He finds in these two lines "cheeks aglow," "the blood-spirit dancing through his limbs," and an extra invocation—

Stay with me, Soul, and share
The span of days that happiness will bring—

which does not appear at all in the text.

2. For the last four words, Mr. Waley has, "and bring prosperity to house and stock."

魂　察　三　接 (21)
兮　篤　圭　徑
歸　夭　重　千
徠　隱　侯　里
正　孤　聽　出
始　寡　類　若
昆　存　神　雲
只　只　只　只

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(21) Through a thousand *li* of roads come people in clouds—
The three *kuei*[1] and the other orders of nobility, of divine discrimination;[2]
They search out the sick, the short-lived, and the recluse, and help the widow and orphan.[3]
O my soul, come home, that your uprightness may be displayed.[4]

1. The three higher grades of nobility: 公, 侯, and 伯, the others being 子 and 男.

2. In their recommendations for official posts.

3. Mr. Waley has, "by their aid to probe the hidden discontents of humble men and help the lonely poor."

4. Mr. Waley has, "O Soul come back and end what we began."

魂	先	美	田	(22)
乎	威	昌	邑	
歸	後	衆	千	
徠	文	流	畛	
賞	善	德	人	
罰	美	澤	阜	
當	明	章	冒	
只	只	只	只	

(22) Our countryside and towns, with their thousand roads, abound in men,
And our culture reaches the masses and causes their virtue to shine forth.[1]
Firmness first, gentleness afterwards; thus excellent results are achieved.[2]
O my soul, come home, where rewards and punishments are rightly awarded.

1. Mr. Waley has, "Good rule protect the people and make known the King's benevolence to all the land."

2. Mr. Waley has, "Stern discipline prepare their natures for the soft caress of Art;" and for the last line, "O soul come back to where the good are praised."

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魂　西　北　德　名 (23)
乎　薄　至　譽　聲
歸　羊　幽　配　若
徠　腸　陵　天　日
尙　東　南　萬　照
賢　窮　交　民　四
士　海　阯　理　海
只　只　只　只　只

(23) Here there is a reputation[1] like the sun illumining the Four Seas,
A fame for virtue, equal to God's, in the government of the people,[2]
Reaching north to Yu-ling,[3] south to Cochin-China,
West to Yang-ch'ang,[4] and east all over the ocean.[5]
O my soul, come home, and take an honoured place among the wise.

1. That of the king of the Ch'u State.

2. Mr. Waley has, "His deeds, matched only in Heaven, shall repair the wrongs endured by every tribe of men." 3. 幽州, Yu-chou, in Chih-li. 4. Literally, sheep's-gut; a famous mountain in Shansi, so called from its peculiar formation. 5. Mr. Waley has, "To the Eastern Seas"; but this ignores the value of 窮.

魂　豪　直　舉　發 (24)
乎　傑　贏　傑　政
徠　執　在　壓　獻
歸　政　位　陛　行
國　流　近　誅　禁
家　澤　禹　讒　苛
爲　施　麾　罷　暴
只　只　只　只　只

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(24) Here the administration is based on justice, and oppression and violence are forbidden;
The best are exalted, the second-best are curbed, the wicked and the weak are got rid of;
Upright men, of whom there are many, hold office, appointed after the example of the Great Yü;
Heroes govern, and their influence extends far and wide.
O my soul, come home, and take part in the administration.[1]

1. The whole of this verse is omitted by Mr. Waley.

魂	執	昭	諸	三	雄 (25)
乎	弓	質	侯	公	雄
徠	挾	既	畢	穆	赫
歸	矢	設	極	穆	赫
尙	揖	大	立	登	天
三	辭	侯	九	降	德
王	讓	張	卿	堂	明
只	只	只	只	只	只

(25) In its majesty, in its might, the virtue from God[1] is displayed;
The Three Dukes[2] ascend and descend from (the dais) in the hall;
All the nobles are collected and the Nine Ministers[2] are chosen from them;[3]
At dawn preparations are made, and a great target is set up;
Bows and arrows are grasped, with bowing and yielding precedence.[4]
O my soul, come home, and honour the Three Kings.[5]

1. That of the king of Ch'u. High officials who discussed the administration with the king; a kind of Cabinet.

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2. Ministers at the head of State Departments.

3. I cannot follow Mr. Waley's rendering of the first three lines, as follows:—

> **Behold the glorious virtues of our King triumphant, terrible;**
> **Behold with solemn faces in the Hall the Three Grand Ministers walk up and down—**
> **None chosen for the post save landed-lords, or, in default, Knights of the Nine Degrees.**

4. The victors in the archery competition were appointed to the vacant official posts.

5. By following their example. They were the Great Yü, T'ang the Completer, and Wên Wang.

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LU IN CONFUCIUS' EARLY YEARS

BY

ARTHUR MORLEY

It is well at times to renew our acquaintance with the great Teacher of the people amongst whom we live and if possible to do so from a fresh point of view. We shall therefore try in a few pages to picture Confucius' immediate surroundings in the political condition of Lu.

Under the Chou kings the empire saw a great expansion in territory and in intellectual life. It is this which gives the dynasty its decisive importance in Chinese history. The principles of government and of thought which run all through the later centuries were then being worked out. Before it, the hidden foundations were laid; during it, the structure was built and after it there were only repairs, at times of some extent and not always following the original style but never amounting to a rebuilding of the edifice.

The power of the central government failed to keep pace with the increase of territory and there was bound to be a period of disintegration which was also bound to end in a new and more permanent autocracy. Confucius lived in those disintegrating times. King Wu had placed the great fiefs of his creation, Ch'i, Lu, Sung and Wei, in the outposts of the empire and it was due chiefly to them that the neighbouring

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tribes were subjugated and the frontiers extended: but they soon learned to keep their conquests for themselves. In this way the larger states which Confucius knew lay along the borders of the empire. As they grew, the process of delegating power was continued. The nobles allowed their subjects to make conquests of their own and so enabled them to overcome their own lords. This is seen most clearly in Chin, whose internal history is recorded most fully of all the larger states. Since marquis Wên of Chin "summoned" his sovereign to Hoyang after his great victory over Ch'u in B.C. 632 his successors retained the paramount position as Lords of Covenants.

The more central states, as Lu, Sung, Wei and Ch'êng, especially the two last, had not the same opportunity of expansion. The duchy of Sung allowed its opportunity in the south to slip by and to be seized by the newer and more vigorous Kingdom of Ch'u(楚), untrammelled by subservience to the northern power. Lu, having Ch'i on its north, Wei on the west, and Sung on the south, could expand only on the east; between it and the coast there was not more than one hundred miles, but it was hilly country occupied by numerous small and less advanced states of the I (夷) people such as K'i(杞), Chü(莒) and Chu(朱). It made efforts in this direction but was baulked by the great marquis Huan of Ch'i, the first of the feudal lords to achieve a sort of paramountcy. He protected these I states and raised K'i into a marquisate. We shall see how Lu still persisted against Chü and Chu but its time had gone by. Its capital, Ch'ü-fou (曲阜), lay a few miles N. E. of the present Yen-chou Fu, in a plain to the south of the hills sloping down from Mt. T'ai and about 150 miles from Lin tzŭ(臨菑), the capital of Ch'i, and nearly twice as far from Chiang(絳), the capital of Chin. Its river, possibly the Wên(汶) of the older books, flowed westward into the basin of the Ho, so that it lay most open in that quarter. Probably until nearly *Ch'un-ch'iu* times, Ch'ü-fou was the only battlemented city in the state: but when Confucius lived there were many such, and amongst them the principal seats of the three great clans, called in the classic the Chi-sun (季

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孫), Chung-sun (仲孫) and Shu-sun (叔孫),—the second being more commonly known as the Mêng-sun (孟孫). The position of their cities is only conjectured, but Pi (費) of the Chi-sun and Hou (郈) of the Shu-sun are both spoken of as bulwarks against Ch'i. The latter of these two and probably the others had an outer wall inclosing the suburbs, just as Ch'ü-fou itself.

The minority of marquis Hsiang gave the three clans their opportunity to seize the power. Lu, as one of the greater states, had maintained three armies: but its relative size, though not its actual area, had shrunk with the growth of the empire and for some years it had kept only two. The clans also armed their own retainers apart from the ducal force. Now Chi-sun Su (宿) (hon. ep., Ch'êng-tzŭ) proposed that their private troops should be disbanded and that the regular armies should be again increased to three, each clan levying and supporting one. This was done, and a covenant with public imprecations against faithlessness was made between the heads of the clans in B.C. 562. The method of levy was left optional. Chi-sun, without enforcing universal service, sought to enlist all available men by freeing those who served from government taxes and doubling the taxes upon others. Shu-sun took only the younger sons of each family but made their service compulsory: whilst Mêng-sun was content with only half of the younger men. The armies in theory still belonged to the state but administratively were entirely controlled by the clans. Thus not only was the ducal power further reduced, but in an important matter concerning the lives of the people there were different laws in different districts. There seems to be no information as to how much of the land was owned by the clans, but it would appear that for military purposes the whole state was divided into three unequal parts. The Chi-sun was the largest, and after Chi-sun Su, the chancellorship became practically hereditary in the family.

Notwithstanding the increase of the army, little was done to guard the State. On the north, Ch'i made repeated attacks with the purpose of compelling Lu to break with Chin: and

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on the east Chü and Chu raided its borders with impunity. In eleven years they made eleven incursions and there was only one feeble attempt at reprisals. Both had in former years been the aim of Lu's ambition but now the ambition was starved by subservience to the "Lord of Covenants" and Lu had to join Chin in six campaigns in which it had no direct interest, receiving no recompense until B.C. 555 when the defeat of Ch'i, to whom the small eastern states chiefly looked, made it possible to compel Chu to give up a part of the stolen lands. The so-called Peace Conference[1] of Sung in B.C. 546 added still more to the heavy burdens laid upon such states as Lu. It was really only a treaty between Chin and the southern kingdom of Ch'u, and its chief provision was that each should allow its vassals to pay court to the other. So marquis Hsiang had to go also to Ch'u. He journeyed with the duke of Sung but when they came to the Han they learned that the king was dead. The duke's ministers took the view that they owed duty only to the man and they turned back: the ministers of the marquis held that they owed it to the State and so went on. Arrived at the capital, Ying (郢), near to the present treaty port of Shashih, the Hsiang found that he was expected to carry the grave-cloths for the dead king with his own hands. It troubled him, but Shu-sun Pao (豹) (hon. ep., Mu-tzŭ) suggested that he should first send a sorcerer to sprinkle the coffin with a peach branch. This was a hygienic custom and was used in Lu only when the ruler attended the funeral of a subject. The tables were turned and the people of Ch'u regretted the insult which they had given. The incident shows the arrogance with which the great states treated the lesser, and though Chin was generally better mannered, it also often received the nobles who came to its court with something less than courtesy. Tzŭ Ch'an (子產), the famous minister of Ch'êng, fought the battle of the smaller states for decent lodgement in Chiang.[2]

(1) See G. G. Warren in *New China Review*, Vol. 1, p. 356.
(2) *Tso chuan*, 564.

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Marquis Hsiang never recovered the authority lost in his youth. Chi-sun Su as chief minister should have gone with him to Ch'u. He preferred to look after things at home and during the marquis's absence he seized a city to add to his own estate. Hsiang heard of it on his way back and at first feared to enter Lu. He died two years afterwards. His heir was brought up in the house of Chi-sun's palace; but died before his father's funeral. Instead of appointing the next son, Chi-sun chose one of "light character." Shu-sun Pao objected to the choice, pointing out that the prince had actually shown signs of pleasure at his father's death: but the chancellor persisted in his way and so marquis Chao succeeded, B.C. 541.

Shu-sun had agreed to the new military regulations with reluctance and it was he who insisted upon having the imprecations against the misuse of them made in public. No sooner had he passed away than Chi-sun put through another change which had been debated the year before. It had probably been found that the extra army was more useful to Lu than protective to itself, but Chi-sun's proposal arranged matters so that his own clan should not suffer. He was to raise one army and the Mêng-sun and Shu-sun one between them, all paying tribute to the marquis. A notice was given to the steward of the clan to announce it to the late chief in his coffin. But the steward said that his master had not wished it and for that reason had insisted upon the imprecations. He tore up the notice and led his fellow-servants to weep over the coffin, and after the funeral left the state, B.C. 538.

It was in this Lu that Confucius was born. His collaborateur in later years said that he was descended from the dukes of Sung and so from the kings of the Shang dynasty;[1] but what we are told of his actual parentage is largely surmise. His father was called "the man of Tsou," a country town of Lu. He himself says that by the age of fifteen he had his mind bent on learning. His teachers are unknown.

(1) *Tso chuan*, 618.

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The moving influence in his education, however, was doubtless his own unremitting diligence prompted by an inquiring mind: and if we may believe the *Li-chi* he visited the neighbouring states of K'i and Sung in order to study the customs of the Hsia and Shang dynasties, and went through the ceremony of capping in Sung according to the rites of his ancestors. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien tells us also that the visit to the Royal Domain which is connected with so many anecdotes was in his seventeenth year.[1] These journeys might be made by an ardent student with small means. Tso-shih relates an instance of his eagerness for knowledge which is more authentic. The holder of the small viscounty of T'an (郯) came to the court of Lu. Claiming descent from one of the legendary emperors he expounded the ancient theory of government based upon the five elements and the characteristics of birds and beasts, and Confucius promptly obtained an interview with him in order to inquire about these matters. According to Ssŭ-ma's chronology this was in the twenty-seventh year of his age. He would appear to be then resident in the capital and to have been there sufficiently long to obtain a standing which would give him an introduction to a ducal guest. Besides this slight clue it is not to be supposed that he would remain in his country home after his teens and Ch'ü-fou would be the city first to attract the young student. It was no mean city and gathered to itself the wealth of one of the oldest and most advanced of the feudal states.

(1) We are loth to discredit the account of Confucius' visit to the Royal Domain in his early years but Ssŭ-ma's details cannot be accepted. Evidently following Tso-shih he says that in B.C. 535, when he was seventeen, Mêng-sun Chio placed his two sons under his charge and that the younger of them prevailed upon the marquis to allow his tutor means for visiting the Royal Domain. But, as Professor Chavannes points out, Tso-shih says that it was only after Mêng-sun's death seventeen years later that they were put under Confucius. (*Tso chuan*, 634 a; the account is not very clear, but if born they were still children.) Either then Ssŭ-ma is wrong as to the date of the visit or it was not due to the influence of the young Mêng-sun. If it were through the *young* nobleman it must have been during the eighteen months between his father's death and the flight of the marquis, but at that time the Royal Domain was in *utter* confusion, rent by a desperate civil war.

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It was strongly fortified by an inner wall and bastions whilst at least a part of the suburbs was included by an outer wall and the whole surrounded by a wide moat. Several of the gates, the main street of Five Elders and the market-place are frequently mentioned. There was the ducal palace entered by a series of three courts. The three great clans and most of the leading families also had their mansions in the city, each with its tower rising above the one-storied houses. There was the spacious Ancestral Temple of the marquises with its many shrines—probably in separate buildings—and great treasures. There was the almost equally spacious enclosure of the altars of the land and grain with its subsidiary ones for rain and other aspects of nature worship. This enclosure was planted with trees and in it the people assembled in the evenings for pleasure and dancing. Outside the South gate there was the enclosure for the great sacrifice to Heaven and Earth which Lu alone of the states had the privilege of offering. Scholars and merchants in the peculiar long-stringed head-dress of Lu hustled in the streets against mechanic and peasant. Bodies of buff coats of the great houses, the retainers of the marquis or the cortège of an envoy from other states riding in two-wheeled carriages drawn by horses would frequently pass, whilst merchandise was drawn by oxen in lumbering carts. Many strange scenes of pageantry and bloodshed were witnessed in its streets. Had Confucius lived in the city as a boy he would have seen the only visit to Ch'ü-fou of a chancellor of Chin, when Han Hsuan-tzŭ came with a large retinue in B.C. 540, was banquetted by marquis Chao and inspected the ducal library, especially fingering its own chronicles and its copy of the Book of Changes and saying admiringly, "The institutes of Chou are all in Lu; now I know the virtue of the duke of Chou." Another unique event in the life of Ch'ü-fou, when he was twenty years of age and had probably come to the city, would impress him on the other hand with a sense of the degeneracy of his times.—The chancellor Chi-sun I-ju (意如) (hon. ep., P'ing-tzŭ) had just returned from a raid upon Chü and brought back some captives from one of its cities whom he had offered as victims

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at the altar of Po. Tso-shih calls it a sacrifice and probably there was some religious idea lurking in the dark mind of the chief. With the many murders which had stained its streets, the city had never witnessed a scene like this. It was opposed by the best people, and the historiographers—or was it Confucius himself when he came to edit the records?—refused to stigmatize their country by recording it in the state chronicle.

Two years later, evidence of political degeneration was brought home to him. By this time the great clans had made Ch'ü-fou their usual residence, leaving the care of their estates to stewards. Chi-sun I-ju was foolish enough to treat his officer Nan K'uai, who was in charge of Pi, with disrespect, so that Nan secured a party at court and offered to rebel against his master and hold the city for the marquis. Though poorly supported, he was able to resist a siege and only succumbed the next year through the people being won back to their allegiance. He fled to the court of Ch'i and was called a rebel by the marquis; he answered that what he had done was in behalf of the ducal house. He was told by a minister standing by that there was no greater fault in an officer of a clan than the wish to increase the ducal power. Such a conception of duty, expressed by one in the presence of his own feudal lord, must have been widely accepted and it explains much of what happened in the China of Confucius' day.

Immediately afterwards marquis Chao and Chi-sun I-ju had to justify themselves before the great assembly of nobles at P'ing-ch'iu (平丘), for the invasion of Chü. They were not to be tried by a jury of their peers, for all the business of these durbars was done in the council-chamber of Chin: the nobles were diplomats, or in a case like this perhaps barristers, but the chancellor of Chin was judge without a jury. At P'ing-ch'iu, B.C. 529, Chin made a great effort to recover its weakening hold upon the states and displayed all its military power; but it became apparent that there was no unity in its councils. In a great measure it was a game of bluff, and the shrewdness of Tzŭ-ch'an out-bluffed the Lord of Covenants. He kept the assembly as a whole discussing the tribute which Ch'êng should pay and won the approval of Confucius for his

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championship of the smaller states. Chin, however, saw its way to pass judgment between Lu and Chü. Marquis Chao was not allowed to take part in the covenant and Chi-sun was put under arrest ; but nothing was said as yet about restoring the stolen lands. Chao returned to Lu alone. He gave evidence that though he may have dallied with Nan-k'uai's plot, he had not fully joined it, by setting out again in the same year to ask for his release.[1] When he came to the Yellow River, however, he was told that the two states were not on terms of friendship and he had to return discomfited. On consideration, policy obtained the upper hand over principle in the councils of Chin.

Seeing that they had recently failed to save the old Chou states of Ch'ên (陳) and Ts'ai (蔡) from extinction by the "barbarous" Ch'u, and were now punishing another state on the suit of the barbarous Chü, the ministers were wishful to set Chi-sun at liberty, but as he had been legally convicted it could not be done openly. He was therefore told that his escape would be connived at. He, however, made a show of dignity and refused to leave without a formal acquittal: but when it was hinted that a place was being prepared for his confinement in the far west, his courage gave way and he left Chiang without having obtained acquittal. Confucius was then twenty-five years of age and probably had already begun to teach. Despite his small resources the vocation was far from being a mere means of livelihood, for he accepted all promising pupils although they could offer him a fee of no more than a bundle of dried fish. It would also be at about this time that he took the inferior post under the government which Mencius instanced as an example of how office may be accepted for the personal motive of earning a living provided that, as in the case of Confucius, its duties were faithfully performed. In his position, fidelity to office would not

(1) The reason of his journey, however, is only conjectural. Tso-shih merely says that it was "because of P'ing-ch'iu." The marquis had made no covenant and the refusal of his visit shows that it was not demanded from him: yet as his journey resulted from what was done at the meeting, it was most likely to ask for Chi-sun's release.

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debar him from private tuition. As Dr. Legge points out, his pupils were more advanced students and not lads requiring constant supervision. Tso-shih relates an incident which appears to show him in the position of tutor to grown-up students when he was thirty years of age. In the neighbouring state of Wei the Minister of Justice was deprived of his office and city by the marquis's elder brother. He had previously recommended a friend, Tsung Lu (宗魯), to the prince's service and now, plotting revenge, advised him not to go abroad with his master. Tsung Lu replied: "You recommended me to him because of my character. I know him to be a bad man, but I have served him for gain and if I leave him in his danger I shall belie what you said of me; therefore I will die with him and complete my service to you." The prince had a sacrifice outside the city and the ex-Minister of Justice arranged for a cart-load of fagots to block the gate in front of him on his return and a war-chariot to follow him. As the fatal blow was struck, Tsung Lu intervened with his own body and both were slain. In consequence of the disturbance the marquis had for a time to flee from his capital. When news of the murder came to Lu, Ch'in Lao (琴牢)[1] wanted to go and condole with Tsung Lu's family, but Confucius said: "Why should you do so? A superior man does not eat the bread of the wicked or conceal rebellion or endanger himself for gain." The judgment upon Tsung Lu's life perhaps was just, but it was ungenerous in paying no tribute to the manner of his death: it may, however, be approved in that its probable aim was to prevent his pupil from interrupting his studies by a long journey when there was no absolute reason for it. This is not the only harsh saying of the Master, recorded by Tso-shih. Their acquaintance was long and the historian of about the same age would remember many early opinions which he had outgrown when the compilers of the *Analects* knew him in his maturer years.

In the same year marquis Ching of Ch'i went hunting with Yen P'ing-chung (晏平仲). Ssŭ-ma tells us that being

(1) *Analects*, IX, vi, 4.

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on the borders they went on to Ch'ü-fou in order to see the ceremonies of Lu. The visit would be one of the things which we expect to find recorded in the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, but there is no reference to it either in the text or the commentary. Tso-shih relates an incident about the signaller of the hunt on which Confucius commented, but does not say that the party visited Lu and it is not known that Confucius ever met Yen-tzŭ. He said of him that he knew how to maintain a friendship and though it might be long he showed respect throughout. Yen-tzŭ was more the friend than the adviser of marquis Ching, and a philosopher more than a politician. Tso-shih quotes none of his opinions upon current affairs outside his own state but shows him when sitting with his friend and lord to have exerted a constant and not always indirect influence towards reformation in Ch'i. Once the marquis told him that he wished to build him a new and larger house than the one in which his father lived and which still contented him. He would not take the gift and said that he found a convenience in being near the market. The marquis said smilingly, "So that you may know the price of things?" "If it be an advantage," said Yen-tzŭ, "why should I not know it?" "Well, what is cheap just now and what is dear?" The punishment of cutting off toes was frequent in Ch'i, so Yen answered, "Shoes without toes are dear and other shoes cheap." After that the punishment was inflicted less often. A little later Yen P'ing-chung had to go to Chin and the marquis changed his house for a larger one in a better locality. When he came back he found the house ready, but he had it pulled down and the old one rebuilt.

Two other statesmen of his youth noted for elevated views of life, Tzŭ-ch'an of Ch'êng and Shu-hsiang (叔向) of Chin, Confucius is also not known to have met. Tso-shih is fond of quoting the remarks of both of these men upon all current affairs and gives a pleasing glimpse into the private correspondence which the leaders of thought maintained between themselves besides their official despatches. Tzŭ-ch'an found fit to publish the penal code, whereupon Shu-hsiang wrote him a long letter saying that the thing

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would surely lead to disorder in after years by making the people take advantage of their knowledge of the law instead of following the general principles of virtue and the guidance of their superiors. He said that hitherto he had looked up to Tzŭ-ch'an as an ideal in state-craft, but could now do so no longer. Tzŭ-ch'an replied that for himself he would not pretend to the wisdom which could provide for future generations and must content himself with serving the present; he nevertheless would not forget his friend's great kindness. Such correspondence was probably not uncommon amongst the statesmen of the time. But all these three men passed away before Confucius reached maturity; he was still untried and is unlikely to have been admitted into the upper circle. He was, however, alive to every movement of his time and may have had his own correspondents in Chin and Ch'êng. Tzŭ-ch'an died in the same year with Tsung-lu; he said to him who was to succeed to his office, "It is only the perfectly virtuous who can rule by mildness: the next best thing is severity; when the fire blazes men look on in awe and few are burnt; but they make sport of the weakness of water and many are drowned." His successor, however, could not at first bring himself to be severe, and banditti increased so that he had at last to exterminate them with troops. Confucius hearing of it said—"Good. When government is mild, the people despise it and severity has to take its place: mildness serves to temper severity and severity to strengthen mildness." Of Tzŭ-ch'an as a man he said, shedding tears for his death—"His was a love transmitted from the ancients." The young scholar—or we may think the aged historian, when in after years he came to discuss the making of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and its commentary with his fellow-worker amongst the archives,—gave a more critical opinion upon Shu-hsiang, pronouncing him to have been an upright judge who did not conceal the faults of his own relatives; but hesitating whether to call him righteous because, by increasing his own glory (without personal loss), his judgments may have had only the semblance of righteousness.

There was a fourth famous man of the age in Chi-tzŭ

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(季子) of Wu, whom Confucius probably met at a later time. He made his great tour of the states fully described in the *Tso chuan* in B.C. 544. Of the men in Lu he was most pleased with Shu-sun Pao, telling him that though he loved good men he had not the insight to choose them for office; in Ch'êng he met Tzŭ-ch'an "as an old friend," but blamed his extravagance. In Chin he said that Shu-hsiang was straightforward and urged him to do his best; and in Ch'i he advised the somewhat parsimonious Yen P'ing-chung to renounce a great part of his estates. He outlived all these men and in his old age (B.C. 515) he made another tour when Confucius was thirty-seven years of age. Lu was then without its marquis and was technically in "disorder," but was well governed and, as Chi-tzŭ's commission was to gauge the policy of the "upper states" and its leading men, he probably went to Ch'ü-fou and we may believe that he and Confucius, between whom so many conversations have been imagined, really met.

So the young philosopher grew up in a state noted for its learning and elegance. Even Lu, however, could be humiliated in matters of ceremony. In B.C. 521 an envoy came from Chin; Shu-sun Shê (舍) (hon. ep., Chao-tzŭ), then head of his clan, was responsible for his reception and Chi-sun I-ju, wishing to embroil him with Chin, made the officers pay to the envoy the same ceremonies which had been paid to the envoy of Ch'i who came to restore the city of Pi seven years before. The Chin minister was angry, his rank being higher than that which the Ch'i envoy had held, as his country was greater, and he threatened to report the matter to his ruler. The people of Lu were alarmed and added four sets of animals, making eleven in all.[1] Confucius would witness his country's loss of face but his inferior position prevented him from criticizing an action which, if he had had authority, he would not have allowed.

(1) We see here something of the cost of these envoys; their retinue of 500 men had also to be maintained.

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In B.C. 518 Chio (㚟) (hon. ep., Hsi-tzŭ), the chief of the Mêng-sun, died. During his early career he had found occasion to regret his lack of knowledge in ceremonial matters and tried later to correct it. On his death-bed he wanted his sons to make a better start in life. Hearing of Confucius' rising fame and knowing him to be the worthy offspring of a worthy stock, he ordered his sons to be put under his tuition. Confucius said of him—let us hope later—what he might have said of Tsung Lu, that he who mends his errors is a superior man. He was now thirty-four years of age. The fact that he had charge of two scions of a great house would give his school a reputation such as it had possibly not yet had. One of the sons was Ho-chi (何忌) (hon. ep., I-tzŭ), the heir who became head of the clan. The youths were in their teens.[1] Ho-chi's position would probably not leave him much time for his studies and neither of them is generally recognized as a disciple of the Master.

Eighteen months later marquis Chao was in flight. He had been half inclined to listen to Nan-k'uai's plot, but apparently had no strong enmity against Chi-sun I-ju: yet he cannot have had much affection for a minister who would allow the service of the grand temple to be short of pantomimes because they were being used by himself. Other members of the ducal family were not so contented with the condition of things. Three of his sons joined in a plot to do away with I-ju, but their father at first would not fall in with it. Mêng-sun Ho-chi was young and Shu-sun Shê was in Sung; he consulted, however, with the Tsang (臧) and Hou (郈) families, both of which had suffered through I-ju listening to slanders and they thought the thing feasible. He then consulted with the head of the Tzŭ-chia (子家) clan, who saw difficulties, but having once listened to the plot fell in reluctantly with it. They made a surprise attack upon Chi-sun and forced an entrance into his house. He took refuge in the tower and offered to retire to the confines to await the investigation of his offences. This was refused. He then offered to submit to

(1) *Tso chuan*, 634 a (but the account is not very clear).

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confinement in his own city of Pi. That, too, was refused and finally he offered to leave the state with only five chariots. Tzŭ-chia-tzŭ advised the marquis to accept this last offer whilst Hou-tzŭ urged him to put the suppliant to death. In doubt, the marquis sent for the young Mêng-sun Ho-chi. Meanwhile the steward of the Shu-sun, in his master's absence, assembled his people and asked them what was to be done. They decided to stand or fall with Chi-sun: so they entered his house through the barricade at the back and finding the marquis's followers sitting about, easily drove them out. When Ho-chi arrived, seeing the Shu-sun flag flying, he slew Hou-tzŭ and attacked the marquis's men. On the failure of the enterprise Tzŭ-chia-tzŭ advised the marquis to remain in the city and he with the other officers would take the blame of the affair. But Chao could no longer endure to stay: he took Tsang-tzŭ to consult at the tombs and the next day set out unmolested for Ch'i.

Shu-sun Shê returned very soon afterwards and went to see Chi-sun I-ju who bowed to the ground before him and, being blamed for what he had done, besought him to arrange matters so that he might serve his ruler in a different way from what he had done. With this Shu-sun went to see the marquis and it was decided that he should get rid of his hot-headed followers and return to Lu. For this purpose Shu-sun came again, but on arriving he found that I-ju had changed his mind. Unable now to do anything, on the thirty-second day after the flight he fasted in his chamber, made his priest pray for his death and died after seven days. This was in the autumn of 517 B.C. Marquis Chao never saw his capital again, but we will not dwell upon the ignominy of his exile. He bungled his affairs sadly: Tzŭ-chia-tzŭ was the only one in his suite who was capable of taking a just view of their position; but Chao, unable to overcome his feeling of wounded pride, was ever led by his other uncompromising followers and made it easy for Chi-sun's bribes to prevent his return.[1]

(1) See Professor Parker in *New China Review*, Vol. 1, p. 389.

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Confucius was probably in Ch'ü-fou when the marquis fled. We may surmise what he thought about it. Later he once said what he could in Chao's favour;[1] but no judgment of his upon the events which led to the flight has been put on record. His own pupil, though but for a few months, had been the immediate cause of his ruler's disgrace: he appears only once in the *Analects*, to ask about filial piety and we should like to know the precise point of the Master's answer.

Ssŭ-ma makes Confucius also to have gone to Ch'i, take office under the marquis Ching and leave it when Ching confessed that he could not practise his teaching. All his conversations with the marquis recorded so briefly in the *Analects* fit best with a later date. It is only certain that the contempt which Tso-shih heaps upon the followers of the fugitive makes it impossible to think that Confucius was amongst them. Not having held high office he was under no obligation to refuse to remain in Lu: indeed Ssŭ-ma admits that he did not object to live there under the interregnum. During that time the Royal Domain was in great confusion owing to Prince Chao (朝) claiming the succession to King Ching. Tso-shih gives a detailed chronicle of the civil war which tore the Domain for four years. It is not embellished with the personal anecdotes which delight us in his history of the feudal states. There was a general reluctance to discuss the affairs of the Royal House, which accounts for much of our ignorance of its doings. Confucius was as silent about it as he was about the flight of his own ruler, whom he probably could not altogether acquit of blame. We have, however, his verdict upon two events of this time in Chin. In B.C. 514 Wei Hsien-tzŭ became head of the government in Chin. He issued a list of appointments and promotions: amongst them he made Chia Hsin (賈辛) commandant of an important city because of his service to the Royal House. Another appointment gave him some trouble through the fear of being thought guilty of nepotism. But at length he gave it to his own son by a concubine, because of his known honesty. Hearing

(1) *Analects*, VII, xxx: cf. *Tso chuan*, 604 b.

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about it Confucius said that Wei-tzŭ had not failed in his duty to his own house nor erred in promoting those more distant; his conduct was just, and in rewarding Chia Hsin he was loyal. In the next year Chin followed the example of Tzŭ-ch'an in Ch'êng and published its penal code, when Confucius took Hsu-hsiang's view that it was a sign of degeneration. He was then but thirty-nine years of age and let us hope that he had not yet outgrown the dogmatism of youth; for in the *Analects* we find him more generously insisting upon the need of educating the people.

During the seven years of the interregnum, Lu was admittedly well governed by I-ju with the consent of the people; the public sacrifices were offered, the foreign policy was peaceable and the eastern tribes submitted. When Chao died he was buried close to the family mausoleum at K'an (闕), but apart from his ancestors. His sons having been the chief instigators in the attack upon I-ju, the Minister passed them over and raised his younger brother, marquis Ting, to the title. He offered to admit Tzŭ-chia-tzū to a share in the government and to receive any of his fellow-exiles whom he thought fit to recommend, but the offer was rejected. Chi-sun I-ju died in the fifth year of the new reign. Undoubtedly the ultimate cause of the marquis's flight, he did not, however, actually drive him out. It is easy now to say that after the unsuccessful attack upon his house he should have again offered himself for trial, but such a course was well-nigh impossible to a man of his caution. He is more open to blame for rejecting Shu-shun's mediation. He was neither a great patriot nor an infamous rebel, but in his way an upright man with small aims. Being unable to sacrifice himself, he was compelled to prevent the return of his lord; but once his safety and wealth were secure, he had no further ambition.

On his death in B.C. 505 disorder at once broke out. Yang Huo (陽貨) was his steward and began purging out the servants of the clan who were not for himself. The new chief, Chi-sun Ssŭ (斯) (hon. ep., Huan-tzŭ), played into his hands by ordering him to dismiss a faithful officer who would not flatter. In the fall of the year Yang Huo put his new master

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in confinement and forced a covenant upon him at the Grain Gate, He made his residence in Ch'ü-fou and used the hereditary chancellorship to control the government. He did not assume any office,[1] but the force of his personality, backed by the resources of the Chi-sun, gave him the direction of Lu for three years.

Striving to attract everyone to his party, he did not neglect the learned and conservative. Probably, as Dr. Legge thought, it was to intimate his intention of reforming religious and civil affairs that he restored the tablets in the ducal temple to their proper order[2] which had been broken since the time of marquis Hsi. Such a policy would appeal to men like Confucius. Ssŭ-ma has a tale that once in his early years the sage had been reproved by Yang Huo for going to a banquet during a time of mourning. Be that as it may, Yang now let Confucius know that he wished him to call upon him. He seems to have had a certain charm of manner and to have retained some good feeling, but his unprincipled behaviour made Confucius decline the invitation of his old acquaintance. Yang then sent him a present of a pig which he felt obliged to acknowledge, but did so at a time when he knew that his host would be away from home. Such delicate adjustments of conflicting principles soon fail. Confucius was button-holed. He was asked, "Can a man who keeps his jewel in his bosom and leaves his country to confusion be called benevolent?" "No." "And can he who, desirous of office, constantly neglects opportunities of taking office be called wise?" The answer again was "No." "The days and months," continued Yang, "and the years do not wait for us." "Right," said Confucius, "I will take office." He did so very soon afterwards, but not from the hands of Yang Huo. Sometime during these years, Confucius was inclined to visit Kung-shou Fu-jao, the commandant at Pi. This man's attitude at

(1) The orders which he issued appear to have been in the name of the marquis or the chief of the clan concerned (see *Tso chuan*, 770 a).

(2) SXI, viii, 15. This was just before his final attempt to grasp power. His conversation with Confucius, given in the *Analects*, cannot be given its precise sequence.

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first was not one of open rebellion. He had restrained Yang from killing a servant of the clan for refusing to bury Chi-sun I-ju with a jewel which he had worn throughout the interregnum, "because," he said, "the man acted on behalf of his ruler." He was appointed to Pi by Chi-sun Ssŭ before Yang attempted his *coup* and did not definitely join the adventurer until just before his fall. Still, being commandant of the principal city of the clan upon which Yang depended, his position was sufficiently dubious to make the disciple Tzŭ-lu (子路) object to the visit; and, on reflection, Confucius felt that even with the possibilities which might ensue, it was not the thing to do.

Just before Chi-sun I-ju's death the great meeting of nobles at Shao-ling (召陵), finally displayed the weakness of Chin. Ch'i at once made a bid for the leadership and brought Wei and Ch'êng into its scheme. Yang Huo remained faithful to the old Lord of Covenants and on its behalf invaded Ch'êng. For eighty years, no marquis of Lu had led an army, but Yang could not afford either to give the army to the leadership of other than himself nor to leave his ruler behind; so he compelled marquis Ting, Chi-sun and Mêng-sun all to take the field, and captured the city of K'uang (匡).[1] In the winter he imposed a covenant upon the marquis and the chiefs of the three clans at the altar of Po and had the imprecations against the breaking of it spoken in the street of the Five Elders. During the next year he prepared another *coup*. He won over to his cause more restless spirits and bound Kung-shan Fu-jao more stringently. The conspirators planned to carry off the three chiefs, to give the Chi-sun and Shu-sun to men of the clans of their own choice, and the lands of the Mêng-sun to Yang. Chi-sun Ssŭ was to be the

(1) The danger which beset Confucius not many years afterwards in K'uang (*Analects*, IX, v: XI, xxiv.) is thought to have been connected with the hatred of the people, for Yang Huo is supposed to have resembled the sage in appearance. The K'uang of the *Analects* is thought by some to have been in Sung whither Yang fled from Ch'i. Thence, after having made the place too hot for himself, he proceeded to Chin and fished in the troubled waters of its civil war. (*Tso chuan*, 773 a, 819 b.)

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first victim. A banquet was prepared for him in an orchard. On the way to it he was surrounded by so strong a guard that his suspicions were aroused. He persuaded his charioteer to attempt an escape and the horses were lashed up until, amidst a shower of arrows, they came to a house belonging to Mêng-sun. Ho-chi had previously obtained an inkling of the plot, but leaving his fellow-chief to his fate, sent to his country-seat for troops to protect himself. Yang issued a ducal order for a general attack upon Mêng-sun: but the chief's troops were now arriving and after two days' fighting in the streets, Yang was driven out. He retired leisurely and held one of the passes until the following summer, when he fled to Ch'i.

The next date in the life of Confucius which Tso-shih fixes for us is that of the treaty of Chia-ku (夾谷), when he acted as chancellor to the marquis. Only eighteen months had elapsed since Yang Huo's flight but in that time much might happen. He was now nearly fifty years of age. He had not disputed Yang Huo's implication that he was desirous of office and when a more normal government was established he had no scruple about working with it. Evidently sought after, he would probably have a choice of the posts which the new régime had to fill, and it is not surprising that he was sent so soon to act as the marquis's chief adviser at Chia Ku. Tso-shih says in another place that when Minister of Justice he had the boundary of the mausoleum at K'an enlarged so as to enclose the grave of marquis Chao.[1] This would be before going to Chia-ku where he is called *hsiang* (相) or, as Ssŭ-ma took the word to mean, Chancellor: but he held the post only temporarily. For several generations the Chancellorship had been with the chief of the Chi-sun family. They had ceased to attend the marquis abroad at these formal meetings and, as the terms of peace with Ch'i had already been arranged, the business at Chia-ku was only to take the oath of ratification; but the ducal dignity had to be preserved;

(1) *Tso chuan*, 745b. In both the *Tso chuan* and *Mencius*, Confucius appears only as Minister of Justice. Ssŭ-ma makes him first to have held a magistrac and the ministry of works. It is quite possible.

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so in the absence of the proper Chancellor the minister in attendance was given an acting rank. Confucius was never the Chancellor of Lu. In the summer of B.C. 500 the two marquises met. These meetings of nobles for public business upon equal terms were always in the open country and usually at some place near the frontiers. Camps were pitched, pavilions erected and the nobles assembled with their panoply. The marquis of Ch'i was advised that Confucius being a man of ceremonies without courage, marquis Ting might be carried off by employing some captives of the I tribes. It was arranged accordingly. But as the barbarians began to crowd around, "the man of ceremonies" saw what was happening and, stepping forward, said:—"Let the soldiers smite these slaves; my lord and the lord of Ch'i are met on terms of friendship; to allow armed barbarians to bring confusion into our great land is not the way to get obedience of the states; before the spirits it is inauspicious and between man and man it is a breach of propriety." When the marquis of Ch'i heard this he ordered the men away. Then the covenant came to be taken. A beast was held by the ears and bled; each signatory dipped his finger in the blood, smeared his lips with it and took the oath.[1] The terms had already been settled but immediately before the binding rite was performed the people of Ch'i added a clause—"Be it to Lu according to the curses of this covenant if, when the army of Ch'i goes abroad, Lu does not follow with 300 chariots." Confucius promptly added a counter clause—"Be it so also to Ch'i if, without restoring our lands, it expects us to obey its orders." The business being over, the marquis of Ch'i invited marquis Ting to a banquet: but Confucius, evidently still suspicious, declined the invitation and hurried his master away. Ch'i faithfully fulfilled its obligation to restore the lands.

(1) A short time before this Chin had disgusted its own few remaining allies by allowing one of its officers at a forced covenant with Wei to thrust the marquis's hand up to the wrist into the blood of the victim. At the more "Solemn Meeting" with fuller rites, the victim was probably slaughtered. (See Professor Parker in *New China Review*, Vol. I, p. 392).

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Peace was made abroad but there was still a back-wash of the trouble at home. The evil of the great chiefs committing their estates into the hands of stewards had already been felt by the Chi-sun, and while the marquis was at Chia-ku trouble was brewing in Hou, the chief seat of the Shu-sun. Its Master of Horse was ordered by his chief to assassinate the commandant of the city; when the deed was done he held the city in revolt and withstood two sieges. He was only driven out by the people being made to believe that he intended to hand them over to Ch'i.

With these experiences the three chiefs agreed to the proposal that Pi, Hou and Ch'êng should be dismantled. They were resident in Ch'ü-fou and, having little to fear from the marquis but more from their own officers, did not probably feel so much the need of their country strongholds. The proposal originated with the disciple Tzŭ-lu who was now in the employ of the Chi-sun, and Confucius took it up. In the summer of B.C. 498 Shu-sun dismantled Hou, and Chi-sun was going to do the same with Pi; but Kung-shan Fu-jao led his men to surprise the capital. The marquis and the three chiefs took refuge in the tower of Chi-sun's palace where they were attacked by the men of Pi, the rebels penetrating nearly to where the marquis and his party were. Were they huddled together in the same chambers in which Chi-sun's father pleaded with marquis Ting's brother for his life and was delivered by Mêng-sun Ho-chi? The record is not clear as to where Confucius was at the time. It seems to suggest that he was also in the chamber, but we can understand what followed best by supposing him to have been outside the palace. This "man of ceremonies" was destined again to save his ruler's liberty if not life. He ordered two officers to attack the rebels, who were driven out. They fled, pursued by the people, were again defeated in the country and the dismantling of Pi was proceeded with. Then came the turn of Ch'êng. Mêng-shun Ho-chi's steward persuaded him that its fortifications were necessary both to himself and to the state, for without Ch'êng there would be no Mêng-sun and no bulwark against Ch'i. "With your approval," he said, "I

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will not destroy the forts: you, however, need know nothing about it." So Ho-chi connived at opposition to his late teacher's policy and in the last month of the year the marquis was obliged to besiege the stronghold. He failed to take it and the "reformation" was stopped. The steward's arguments were not disinterested, but it was probably true that the dismantling of the cities would not have been advantageous to Lu. In those times the security of a state demanded a strong frontier, and the soundest advice had always taught the folly of relying only upon a fortified capital.[1] True, Lu had other frontier strongholds; but these three were the principal ones and were held so much in awe that they had never been attacked by Lu's enemies and could only be taken by prolonged siege. If the purpose of Confucius' policy were to break the power of the clans, it would probably have been better to deprive them of some of their lands or to hold the cities in the name of the State. Such a course, however, would have required a fresh reorganization of the army and could not have been done with the consent of the three chiefs. There was in fact a vicious circle, each part being both cause and effect; and a practical statesman is not to be too severely criticized for trying to break it at the point of least resistance.

From this time for many years Confucius drops out of Tso-shih's chronicle of Lu. The gift of the dancing-girls which led to his retirement is generally dated very soon after the failure at Ch'êng. We need not suppose with many Chinese writers that the gift was meant specially to undermine Confucius' influence. The account in the *Analects*, by throwing the blame on Chi-sun Ssŭ, suggests that Confucius used his privilege as a high minister to oppose receiving the gift. But the sanction of his superior prevailed. The Court gave itself up to pleasure; no public business was done and in three days Confucius took his departure. Mencius adds that,

(1) Tzŭ-ch'an had maintained it in Ch'êng. In B.C. 506 Ch'u suffered through the reversal of this policy, and by neglecting its frontiers opened itself to devastation by Wu in the most bloody war of *Ch'un-ch'iu* times.

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the sacrificial flesh not being sent to him, he went away without waiting to take off his ceremonial headdress and explains that he purposely chose a small point of disrespect to himself (罪) as an excuse for leaving, but that his real reason was the neglect of the ceremony. Apparently the sacrifice had not been offered and Confucius made it appear that he left because of personal pique in order not to draw attention to his ruler's greater fault.

Thus ended Confucius' career as a Minister after little more than three years. He had not fulfilled his promise, "If there were any to employ him, in twelve months something would be done and in three years it would be perfected." The words, spoken in the enthusiasm of comparative youth,[1] imply the need of trust on the part of his master; though his opportunity had been unique in the very difficulties which had beset Lu, it did not give him this essential. It is sometimes easier to reform a kingdom than a single individual, and we can understand how Confucius' unbending gravity would fail to acquire real influence over a prince like marquis Ting.[2] The sage was not the man to "carve rotten wood." Perhaps the failure of Yen P'ing-chung's more companionable method with marquis Ching drove him to a greater austerity. Tzŭ-ch'an's difficulty between severity and mildness is met with in all intercourses of life. A way to blend the two may be acquired by a statesman in dealing with the masses, but in dealing with individuals such a method must be the outcome of naturalness, and it is doubtful whether Confucius ever possessed this natural tact. He was kind and often forbearing, but never perhaps outgrew the ways of the schoolmaster. In a larger field than the one immediately before him his work has not failed. When he left Lu, charioteered by the

(1) Ssŭ-ma refers the saying to the time when he was in Wei, but without apparent reason. It is difficult to imagine it being uttered so soon after his great failure.

(2) The *Analects* preserves two of his conversations with Ting. If what he said had any direct practical application to the prince, they imply a want in him of serious thought.

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faithful, indomitable Tzŭ-lu, who, we must suppose, resigned his post at the same time with his master, he came to the borders of Wei. The custodian of the town introduced himself and coming away from the interview said to the group of disciples: "My friends, why are you distressed at your master's loss of office? . . . Heaven is about to use him as a bell with its wooden tongue." His confidence has been justified. If Confucius did not reform Lu, he has done much to preserve China.

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BY

THE REV. J. HUTSON

BOOK IV—THE SUPERNATURAL

CHAPTER I

SPIRIT RAPPING (請神), *ch'ing shên*

This is rather a game than any real intercourse with the spirits, but it is very difficult to fix the boundary between the two; worship and play seem to dovetail the one into the other.

To invite the table spirit, *cho-tzŭ shên* (桌子神); table rapping. One table is put face downwards on another with a common rice basin between them. A person then takes hold of each of the four corners of the upturned table, and tries to hold it steady. When the spirit comes the table moves up and down or turns round.

To invite the spirit of the carrying pole, *pien tan shên* (請扁擔神). The pole is laid across the table, two persons blindfolded hold the ends, and try to keep the pole down. When the spirit comes, the pole moves up and down in spite of them.

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To invite the rake (*ba*, 笆) spirit. A youth sits with eyes blindfolded and holds a rake upright. The others burn incense and paper and invite the spirit of the rake to come and do the work for them. When the spirit comes the rake is moved and the fuel is gathered by the rake itself apart from human energy.

To invite the spirit of the seventh virgin, *ch'i ku-niang* (七姑娘). She is said to be the seventh daughter of the Pearly Emperor, and is patronized by girls who want to know what kind of lot may be in store for them. The maiden who is inquiring sits with head covered while others burn incense and paper.

To look at the flowers, *kuan hua* (觀花). The girl who inquires for the others is set down in a quiet spot; others burn incense and candles to invite the spirit of the flower garden. She then goes in spirit and thus finds out under which tree the lot of her client is to be cast. If under the palm, fir, or soap trees, the lot will be a bitter one. If under the *kuei hua* the lot will be one of riches and honour. Under the camelia means happiness and peace; the cedar means long life and strength. The person who practises this art is paid for it by the clients.

To invite the spirit of the broom, *sao pa* (掃把) *shên*. The broom is put into a child's hands and the eyes blindfolded, paper and incense are burned and the spirit invited to help the child to sweep the floor. If the floor is not well swept, the child is beaten by the onlookers.

To invite the spirit of the earth bullock. Two youths are blindfolded and set down together. The spirit is invited and when it comes the two youths begin to knock each other's heads till some serious injury is inflicted. Eyes are knocked out, noses broken, and the youth is not infrequently injured for life. Parents forbid the practice, but it is still secretly done in secluded spots.

To invite the stool (*pan têng*, 板凳) god. Two children are blindfolded and set one at each end of a form to hold it down. The spirit is invited and when it comes the stool tilts up or turns round with the children sitting on it.

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Ghosts.

Anathematizing the ghost, *chou hsiao shên tzŭ* (咒小神子), is done by such persons as the travelling fortune teller or the itinerant Taoist priest called a 遊方道士. He may go to a house on the excuse that he desires to tell a boy's fortune, for which purpose the horoscope is necessary. He mentally carries away the particulars of the horoscope. The bark is then peeled from a growing tree, and the horoscope pasted on the bared part, and anathematized by him for forty-nine days, after which time the piece of the tree with the horoscope is gouged out and taken home, and a small idol made of it, which is also anathematized, till such time as the image speaks; at this juncture it is believed that the child dies. This little idol is further worshipped and taught to do as it is bid. It may even enter houses and steal for its master. Or it may be let loose in an enemy's house for revenge, intimidation or robbery. This last is practised by the following people:

Nuns (尼姑), *ni ku*, *Tao ku* (道姑); *hua ku* (花姑), embroidery women, who very seldom have husbands and are sometimes men in disguise; toothache witch doctors (牙婆), *ya p'o*, who pretend to extract the worm from a diseased tooth by way of the eye; *wen p'o* (穩婆) and *ch'ü shêng* (取生) *p'o*, midwives; or 藥媽媽, medicine mothers; *hsiang* (相) *p'o*, physiognomists; fortune tellers, *suan ming* (算命) *p'o;* and go-betweens in marriages, *mei* (媒) *p'o*.

The above classes, on entering a house, are sure to make trouble. If they are meanly or harshly treated, they may let loose a ghost in the house, which will manifest itself in the following ways: short hair will be found in the rice-steamer, or filth of various kinds will find its way into the rice; reeds become transformed into darts and fly at people; the rope on which tobacco leaves are dried becomes a snake to bite the family; twigs become fire-darts to set the house on fire; a paper image steals the family property; tiles are pulled from the roof of the house in the night, or brickbats are thrown into the house in the night;

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the house is set on fire at any time, but specially in the night, or the shell of the bamboo sprout becomes a living being to frighten people; or they annoy by making the rooster crow at bedtime and the dogs bark all the night through.

Sometimes large sums of money are paid to have a ghost taken out of the house, but twenty or thirty taels is quite a common price. If the person who let loose the ghost is invited to remove it, he will demand much more than another, but another can do it. When he does find the wooden idol it is burned and it is popularly believed that the person who let the ghost go will suffer, because the spirit will go and harass him. Most Chinese have a great dread of certain objects and houses which are supposed to be haunted, and it is with the greatest difficulty that they can cut clear of this superstition; it should always be borne in mind that such things are very real to them, however silly they may appear to us.

The "Planchette."

To seek the counsel of the spirits by the aid of the stylus, *k'ung chung hsüan pi* (空中懸筆). Various forms of this cult have been in use for many centuries. The present mode is to make a string of silk thread or human hair and suspend it from the roof, with a pen made of peach or willow twig. Directly under this pen is placed a table covered with fine dry river-sand. Incense and paper are burned before the tablet of the stylus house god, the attention of the spirits called and their help besought.

When the spirits come the pencil moves and writes characters on the sand. If nonsense is written, the manager, *chi shou* (乩手), further invokes the spirits by the *k'o t'ou* (kotow) and more incense and paper burning, and when the pencil writes real characters one man reads aloud and another makes a record. Enquiring from a converted *chi shou* as to the possibility of falsifying these pencil motions, he declares that with this kind of stylus there is no trickery, but the pencil does not move without being invited and not always then,

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and seldom moves to advantage, but he has known it to write wonderfully true things.

The tablets written in the stylus house are of two different sorts, one to the celestials, the other to *lü tsu* (呂祖). They are as follows ;

天上地下蓬萊洞府仙眞,純陽演正警化孚佑帝君.

The *t'ao chi liu pi* (桃箕柳筆) is a forked branch of a peach tree with willow twig fastened to the lower side of the single point ; it resembles a bird with outspread wings and beak, and is supposed to contain the essence of seminal power and divine influence. Two men grasp the prongs of the stylus and hold it over the table of sand ; the spirits are invoked and the stylus writes. This is a more degraded method than the former, as the two men who hold the prongs, if of one mind, can write almost anything they please. This form of the stylus is also known as *fu luan chiang chi* (扶鸞降乩).

The most degraded of magic pens is that used by one man, *tu jên mei pi* (獨人墨筆), who pleases himself what he writes.

Sometimes the magic pen will only write nonsense and then he has resort to the following charms to correct the trouble : *chua-hsien fu* (抓仙符), the grasp celestial charm; *chan kuei fu* (斬鬼符), behead-demon charm; *chu yao fu* (誅妖符), kill-demon charm. These charms are all burned before the tablet to the stylus house god.

Necromancy (交邪).

Tsou yin chiang hsiang (走陰降像), to enter Hades and obtain an image. This is done by a male devotee of some idol, whose eyes are blindfolded with five feet of red or black cloth. A charm is made and burned, and he has to drink part of the ashes mixed in water, after which he has to sit on a chair, while another person spatters a mouthful of the charm-water all over his person. This done, he opens his mouth and speaks what is believed to be the revelation from the spirits.

Ch'i shui k'an wan (起水看碗), to lift water and stare into the bowl. This is done by both sexes of all ages. The

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basin is filled with water, a charm is prepared and burned and the ashes mixed with the water. The reader of the spirits' decrees then stares into the basin and declares he sees and hears wonderful things belonging to another world.

Ch'i kuang chao p'an (起光照盤), to make the light shine upon the platter. A platter is taken and the necessary charms burned and incantations made over it; it is then handed to the person seeking guidance and light, who is made to look therein, and he may be persuaded to believe that he sees something that will throw light on his path.

To call the immortals and question them as to the happiness or misery and final condition of the departed and as to whether they are able to help or hinder those at present living, is called *kuan hsien* (關仙).

To invite the spirits of departed ancestors, or deceased relatives, to enquire about their state in Hades is *kuan hun chien ch'in* (關魂見親). This is done much in the same way as in the first and second items under this heading.

In curing the demon-possessed, *shou fèng ta hsieh* (收鳳打邪), the demoniac is brought into the presence of the practitioner of the art; a jar is brought into the room and the witch makes many mysterious motions with the fingers, hands and arms. These motions are spoken of as the five-thunder occultism (五雷訣) and the nine-ox strength (九牛攔); by these the demon is supposed to be got into the jar, which is then covered with a white cloth, taken out and buried or carried home by the practitioner. This is an art which demands high payment, and I am informed that in some cases cures have been effected. Lunacy is always attributed to demon possession, and the lot of this unfortunate class is a very hard one indeed. They are often chained to the bed-post or pillar of the house and starved to death, or stoned out of the town by boys, driven from house and home by their relatives, and if violent they are beaten to death. If good-natured they are teased and mocked. They wander about in rags and filth, sleep in temples and caves and are often addicted to many of the lowest vices of mankind.

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To divine as to whether a sickness will be fatal or not is called *p'an tuan chi hsiung* (判斷吉凶). The patient's head is covered, while charms, incense and paper are burned and the spirits besought to reveal their will regarding him.

To inquire of the celestials as to whether the position of the ancestral graves is lucky or not, or as to the best site and position of a proposed new family dwelling, is called *ch'a nien fêng shui* (查驗風水). This is done by covering the head and inviting the spirits to make a revelation.

Ta t'ai p'ing pao fu (打太平保福) is a noisy ceremony at which many of the practices given under sorcery are used before a woman's confinement to ensure a safe delivery. It includes bringing the boxes, *la hsiang tzŭ* (拉箱子). An actor is brought to the house with all his paraphernalia, he dresses as a woman, has his face powdered and painted, after which he jumps and dances in the chief rooms of the house. In some families a stage is erected in an adjoining field for the occasion.

Chuai ssŭ niang tzŭ (踹私娘子), to act the celestial women of the house. These are the *t'ien hsien niang* (天仙) and the *ti hsien niang* (地仙), who are believed to be able to protect life and property and add years to the lives of those in the house. A skilled actor, dressed like a woman, walks and minces up and down the house. At the close of the performance a feast is spread and the actors drink freely o wine and sing lewd songs. This last part is called *p'ei hua* (陪花), to entertain the flower, or the impersonated woman. For this performance the actors are liberally paid. Such performances are almost wholly confined to the well-to-do baser sort.

Ching t'an (靖壇), to pacify the altar of the lemuria. Some families have a *t'an shên* (壇神) and some have none, but those who have are generally of a low and superstitious character. This altar is generally located on the left-hand side of the chief room of the house. The tablet is sometimes written and at others carved. The families who trace their ancestry from the province of Kiangsi have the altar hung up in a basket on the left-hand side of the heaven and earth tablet. The pacification of this spirit takes place once every

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three or five years, unless a change is made in the residence. In this ceremony all the practices of ordinary divination are used with many additions, and the ceremony is much more complicated. A very little of each of the following articles is permanently deposited under the stone on which the tablet rests;—gold, silver, iron, brass, salt, tea, rice and beans. The feast may last for days, and two or three pigs may be killed for the occasion, but I have noticed that families who make much of this altar soon come to poverty. The following are some of the gods of this altar of the lemuria:

The general of the gods of the lemuria. The two lieutenants. The female general of the altar. The twelve flowery women who rule the women of the house for the year, each ruling one month. The three braves who fight for the family. Lo Kung of great mesmeric fame. Thousands of thousands of soldiers and horses. Myriads of myriads of leaders of spirits. The guardian of the east and west granaries. The governor of the tea and wine shops. The guardian of the farmyard.

When the altar is being pacified the gods of the cow, horse, sheep, chicken, dog, pig and cats have all to be dealt with and pacified. For this an animal-skin or an imitation animal is produced, someone gets inside it and imitates the cry of the animal.

Pa man chin pao yu ssŭ, 八蠻進寶游司. This is the guardian of the family wealth and is one of the gods of wealth, which are thus included in the altar. The Tibetans are mentioned because they are supposed to abound in the precious metal and the number eight is a lucky one, hence the saying, 要得發不離八, if a thing is to prosper you can't do without the number eight.

Conjuring (耍把戲).

Tight-rope walking is common, *ch'ai so ch'iao* (踹索橋). The rope may be a hundred feet long and fifty above the ground. The performer is a girl of about ten, who carries a sandbag in each hand.

A woman stands on her head on a table and balances a wine cask first on one foot and then on the other, *têng t'an tzŭ* (登

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繩子). Sometimes a child is put inside the cask and crawls out and sits on the top of it while it is balanced in the air.

A woman balances a ladder on the palms of her hands, then a child threads each rung up and turns over the top and threads its way down again head downward. This is called *fan fei yün t'i* (番飛雲梯).

A bare table is covered with a cloth; after beating of drums and burning of incense and paper, the actor will ask if the guests have all come, and on being assured that they have arrived, the table-cloth is removed and there is displayed a fine, hot, ready-cooked feast.

A flower-pot is covered with a cloth and after some music and incantations the cloth is removed and a fine flowering orchid exposed to view. The same kind of trick is also done with a pot of earth in which a melon seed is sown.

The wooden frame which holds the fire basin is put down and covered with a cloth; and after music and incantations the cloth is removed, when a hot fire on the fire basin is exposed to view. Many are willing to pay large sums of money for instruction in this art.

An empty wine-glass is held in one hand and an empty jar in another and after a few motions and incantations wine is found emptied from the jar into the wine cup, and people are invited to drink.

A woman's embroidered shoe is manipulated in the hand, and it suddenly becomes a rabbit, pigeon, rat or other creature. The conjurer after a little seizes the animal and knocks it on the back of the head and it becomes a shoe once again in his hand.

A wisp of straw becomes changed into a rat. This is very much the same as the last.

Coloured paper is cut into strips and covered with a cloth. When the cloth is removed the strips of paper have been transformed into pretty lanterns already lighted.

A fan is torn to shreds. The conjurer then makes various motions with his hands and the fan is produced and opened up as good as new.

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Paper is torn into small pieces and covered with a cloth; when the cloth is removed a swarm of hornets fly buzzing about, but as soon as they are caught they become pieces of paper again.

The leaves and twigs of a willow tree are broken into pieces and thrown into the river, where they appear to become fishes, but when caught they are simply the willow twigs.

A coin is placed on the upper side of a thick board with one hand and received on the lower side with the other.

A child is laid down with the stomach bent upwards, boxes full of heavy things are put on its stomach, then a man goes on to the top of the boxes, but still there is no sign of the distended stomach giving way under the weight.

A child is taken and rolled in red calico, the conjurer asks for money and, after a contribution has been given, a sword is displayed and the child yells, then another collection is taken up, after which the child's arm is cut off and thrown to the horrified crowd, and still another collection is taken up, then another arm is cut off and thrown out. The child is thus gradually dismembered before the gazing and credulous crowd, but the greatest wonder of all is that this child will be well and about the next day! This is generally the last and most exciting act of the conjurer in a place; for this he often gets large sums of money in collections.

Divination or Sorcery, Wu Shu (巫術).

A sorcerer is called *tuan kung* (端公); the classical name is *nan wu* (男巫), and the colloquial or slang name is *kuei hsiang yo* (鬼鄉約).

A witch is *tuan kung p'o* (端公婆), *tsou yin* (走陰) *p'o*, *shên hsien* (神仙) *p'o*, or *nü wu* (女巫) (a bookish name). One term may be common in one place while another will be used elsewhere.

Though the art of divination is much the same everywhere, still the Tibetan art is more intense than that practised by the Chinese sorcerers. The Tibetan sorcerer does all the Chinese do and some things extra. So before dealing with

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the subject as found among the Chinese we will notice the practices peculiar to the Tibetans.

A Tibetan sorcerer is called *man* (蠻) *tuan kung*. The idol worshipped by him and used in his practice is a full-dressed lama or Buddhist Tibetan high priest.

When a demon is being exorcised a boiler is made red-hot and the afflicted person made to stand in it; it is believed that if his feet do not blister there is no hope of his recovery; or a red-hot chain is put round his neck with the same cheerful hope of blisters.

The sorcerer opens a vein in his own body and lets blood flow on to a cloth, which is given to sick persons to carry as a charm, *k'an hsüeh fu* (砍血符).

In Chinese sorcery an altar is set up, *shê sung* (設送), for the taking away of a disturbing demon from a sick person, and paper money is burned.

It is customary to worship a person's natal star in order to avert calamity or death. Each person is believed to have a star which influences him through life; and the stars are believed to be governed by the Dipper (*tou*), which is largely invoked by Taoist priests and sorcerers to avert death or other calamity, *jang hsing li tou* (禳星禮斗). When a person comes to a certain period in his life believed by fortune tellers and others to be unlucky, a sorcerer is called in to bridge over this difficult time. For people who have had an accident, or for homes where something unlucky has happened, also when a person has reached a great age, the friends and neighbours get up a subscription and present him with a night's incantations; they also present a joint petition to the king of Hades and stand surety for the person's good character and beg that many years may be added to his life. In this ceremony a tablet is written to the local god who joins the bridge of longevity (接限壽橋土地); to this tablet the younger generations *ko t'ou*. The work of the sorcerer is all done in the night. When chanting for the living, cow-horn trumpets are employed; but in wakes for the dead the conch-horn or sea-shell is used.

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Setting up the altar for the purpose of divination is an elaborate affair. A chart belonging to the sorcerer is hung up over the family gods; in this chart the *san ch'ing* (三清) have a prominent place. A bushel and a pint measure are filled with grain or dry river-sand, into which sand are stuck lighted candles and incense, all having been previously placed before the sorcerer's chart. The "three pure" are *t'ai ch'ing* (太清), *yü* (玉) *ch'ing* and *shang* (上) *ch'ing*, and are said to correspond to heaven, earth and man. A tablet to the five heads of demons or *wu ch'ang* (五猖) is put under the table; the tablet to all the poor spirits or 寒林 is put up outside the door. The writing being 寒林會上五音五姓孤魂由子等衆, "To the heads of the Society of the orphan spirits of all names and kinds."

To cleanse the altar the divining priests go with beating of gongs and blowing of trumpets to a stream or pool of water and bring back a vessel filled with clean water; this is called *ch'ing shui* (請水). The water is sprinkled all over the altar and vessels, after which the priest opens the ceremony by putting on his robes and worshipping the idols and tablets all round; this is spoken of as *k'ai t'an*, to open the altar.

The priest prepares a genealogy of the sick person, his name, residence, details of the sickness, etc., which is first read to the company and then despatched to the spirit world by burning.

After the despatch has been sent telling of the need, then the company waits to receive the return message from the spirit world.

The divining priest then enters the kitchen and asks the kitchen god to use his good offices on the sick person's behalf, while the family of the sufferer kneel in a row before the kitchen god to implore his assistance.

The repentance ode is chanted and a prayer for the healing of the disease; this is done amid the beating of gongs and drums, and the yelling of the priests who are ably assisted by the juveniles of the family.

The priest next makes a number of charms, one to be worn on the person, another to be hung on the bed curtains,

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another for the bedroom door, and one is burned and the ashes put into a basin of water which has been cursed, and is drunk by the sick person. These charms are supposed to drive away the demons from the clothing, the bed and the inward man. This ceremony takes it as a foregone conclusion that all sickness is caused by demons.

After burning paper money in little or great quantities according to the ability of the family, the priest takes the clothes of the sick person and bears them, along with a tablet on which is written his name and genealogy, out to a place overlooking a hollow with water in it. Here the priests assisted by the relatives call back the spirit of the sick person from across the waters, repeating several times the following two sentences, *san hun kuei shên, ch'i p'ai fu t'i* (三魂歸身, 七魄附體); that is, may the three souls and seven spirits return to the body; then they finish up with a weird yell of "come back, come back." Of course when the sick man is in delirium it is believed that the soul has already left his body and gone wandering elsewhere.

Straw or reeds of any kind may be used to make an effigy, and paper clothing is made and put on it. Wine and rice are offered to it. A piece of paper money is ignited and applied to the ears, eyes, nose and mouth. Sometimes a needle is used to prick these four organs; all this is done with incantations, after which the effigy is supposed to become accursed as the substitute of the sick person. It is carried to the sick chamber and is addressed by the sorcerer as *mao ta lang* (茅大郎), great straw gentleman, or as *mao ta chieh* (茅大姐), great straw sister, according to the sex of the sick one. One sorcerer faces the effigy and questions it and another crouches behind it and answers the questions; while a third sits on a chair and pronounces judgement. The effigy is asked from whence he came; and for what purpose. The sorcerer from behind replies that he has come from a great distance purposely to be the substitute and bear the penalty of the sick person, whose name he gives.

A vegetable knife, scales, three pairs of chopsticks, one charm, one sorcerer's tablet called a *shih tao* (師刀) or master's

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knife, are collected. The tablet and charm are the property of the sorcerer, while the other things belong to the family. These things the sorcerer gathers together in one hand, swings them round his head, and drops them behind his back; and then all the persons gather round and listen to the reading of the omens of these articles as they lie on the floor and give indications as to the outcome of the sickness. If the three pairs of chopsticks lie in order, recovery is considered to be probable. These chopsticks are spoken of as the *lu ma* (祿馬); emolument horses; if lying in order it means the patient will need them and use them.

The scissors in this affair are known as the *chu ch'iich* (朱雀), or red bird. Birds are all reckoned unlucky because their beaks are pointed, but birds with red patches or red beaks are much more so, and make trouble or even death in the family. The vegetable knife is spoken of as the white tiger (白虎). If the sharp edge of this knife should lie near the rope handle of the scales, it is reckoned to be a very unpropitious omen; as white is the sign of mourning and the tiger is the most ravenous of wild beasts. The scales are reckoned to be the sick man's body, and whatever falls near this is reckoned to be falling near the sick man himself. If the *ling p'ai* (令牌) or charm falls near the scales it is an indication that the spirits are protecting. The writing inside the tablet is said to be the Pearly Emperor's name. The arm jutting out with the three crosses is said to be the three pure ones, who are believed to be peculiarly fitted for the work of frightening away demons.

The next proceeding is to *fèn kua* (分卦), to read the diagrams. These are made of two pieces of bamboo which fit closely and exactly together. The two parts are thrown into the air; if the two flattened sides fall with their faces to the ground, that is called a *yin kua* (陰卦), female diagram; if the flat sides face upwards that is called a *yang kua* (陽卦), male diagram; if one flat and one round side lie upwards that is called a *shèn kua* (神卦), spirit diagram. The female diagram is reckoned very unlucky, while the male and spirit diagrams are reckoned lucky, especially the latter, and the spirits are invoked repeatedly to give a *shèn kua*.

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At this juncture the sorcerer enters the sick chamber, taking the straw effigy and a mug containing an egg. The sick person draws a deep breath and blows into the mug, which is then covered with a white cloth and firmly tied with a string. The sick person then blows a deeply drawn breath on to the face of the straw effigy, and in this way it is believed that the sickness demon is put into the mug and his life put into the straw substitute, who suffers for him.

A paper tray on which are painted various kinds of demons and called the flowery plate is brought; the candles, incense and other signs of the proceeding are gathered and, together with the mug, are put on a sieve and carried with the effigy outside the door of the house; the sorcerers then put up charms on the bedroom door and in the kitchen. A basin of rice soaked in water, and another basin of dry rice is then put on the sieve; into the latter sticks of lighted incense and lighted candles are stuck; the whole is then carried out to a secluded place, where the effigy is burned; the mug containing the egg is buried and the incense and candles stuck into the ground; the rice is carried home by the sorcerer; the sieve and basins are taken home by the members of the family, but are thrown behind the outside courtyard door for three days before they dare take them inside the house, lest any evil influence should be clinging to them.

When the party returns from escorting out the evil influences, the sorcerer proceeds to take down his chart, burns incense and exhorts the family gods, packs up his sorcerer's paraphernalia, eats a hearty meal, counts the wages of divination and takes his departure.

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BOOK V—IDOLATRY

CHAPTER I

GODS OF WEALTH (財 神), *Ts'ai Shên*

The god of wealth is a very important image in these parts, as the Chinese are exceedingly practical and their chief delight is to drive a good bargain; they revel in hairsplitting differences; a grin of satisfaction lights up the countenance when they are counting money and they may get black in the face with rage over a single cash worth of vegetables; a woman will disturb the whole street in order that the family night-soil may bring a few cash more. They have a system of banking and reckoning which goes down to the tenth of a brass cash; lending money for usury is a practice of long standing; the fixed official rate is two per cent. per month, but that rate is often surpassed and such exorbitant interest as forty cash per day for the loan of one thousand brass cash is often extorted. The pawn shops are well managed and the fixed official rate is 2½ per cent. per month. If a pawn shop is burned the owner is released from responsibility. In spring time many people put their winter clothing in the pawn shop as a place of safe keeping. The abacus is a very efficient instrument for reckoning, both speedy and accurate. The following are a few of the gods of wealth known in these parts.

Wên (文) *ts'ai shên*, or *t'sŭ fu t'ien kuan* (賜 福 天 官), the literary god of wealth; said to be Ko Tzŭ-i (郭 子 儀) of the Han dynasty, who is reputed to have had a hundred sons and a thousand grandsons living at the same time; he had

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also enormous family wealth. His image depicts him sitting on a chair, with a long white beard and white garments; he carries a sceptre as a sign of authority and on the sceptre are engraved the four characters (萬事如意), that is, everything shall be as you desire it.

Wu (武) *ts'ai shên;* or *Tsêng fu* (增福) *ts'ai shên*, the military god of wealth. The image depicts this god as riding on a tiger; he has a long black beard and coloured face; in his left hand he holds golden nails, which he gives to his devotees, in his right hand he holds a baton. This is commonly believed to be Chao Kung-ming (趙公明) of Ssŭch'uan fame, who became a celestial on the Ch'ing ch'êng shan (青城山) at Kwan Hsien.

Wei wei (危危) *ts'ai shên*, said to be the Mohammedan god of wealth. The two characters, or rather the pronunciation, is probably derived from the Arabic. It is said that the Mohammedans offer beef on his altar, and that the image is dressed like a Tibetan with a high-crowned hat. Some think that the characters have their derivation from the star (紫微星). Others think that there is a connection between this idol and the eight persons who, dressed as Tibetans, visit the houses at New Year time to bring good luck to the house. This custom is known as *ao nien* (鬧年), and coupled with it is the saying 八蠻進寶, that is, With the eight Tibetans comes wealth.

Ho ho êrh (和合二) *ts'ai shên;* the partnership god of wealth, depicted as two partners in business carrying a large coin between them. The real historical characters are said to be two rich business partners of the Han dynasty

Fu lu (福祿) *ts'ai shên*. The god of happiness and emolument, mostly worshipped by the farmers and merchant classes.

Wu lu (五路) *ts'ai shên*, the god of wealth for five ways. These five roads are said to be the north, south, east, west and central; also said to be the three ways of making a livelihood (scholars, military, artisans), with hills and rivers; the last two, because the wealth of the country is largely deposited in them, and includes mining and fishing.

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Ssŭ kuan (四官) *ts'ai shên* is the god of wealth for the four seasons of the year.

Huo (活) *ts'ai shên.* The living god of wealth; a low-bred priest dressed up as a god of wealth. He wears a high-crowned hat. In one hand he carries a tray containing a piece of white metal, and in the other a palm-fibre whip; he visits the houses of the people from the fifteenth of the first moon till about *ch'ing ming*, using the whip to drive away the demons who hinder the prosperity of the family. He never speaks unless he is spoken to.

Yin hun chih kuei wei (淫昏之鬼爲) *ts'ai shên.* It is said that the demon of lust is the god of wealth; this is a wide-spread idea, hence the saying 笑貧不笑淫, They laugh at poverty, but not at lust, that is, they will get rich at any cost.

Wu cho (五濁) *shên.* The god of wealth is styled thus because in mammon worship all manner of wickedness is said to be included and permitted to the devotees; business men have a secret language for talking about their prices before their customers; cow and pig dealers put their hands up each other's sleeves and talk by signs, all to deceive people.

It has been said that Tao Chai (盜蹠), the younger brother of Liu Hsia hui (柳下惠), is the real god of wealth; but the common people have a saying which runs thus: 敬財神不如餂勾子, It is better to flatter the rich than worship the god of wealth. A foreigner is not infrequently styled the god of wealth because it is believed that foreigners' wealth is unlimited.

Charms, Hua fu (畫符).

The charm to put over the door is made of paper or calico which is pasted or nailed up. Over the doors of headmen the writing is in large characters, common people use smaller. Yellow is the most common colour, but small charms often have a stripe of white running through them. In ancient times it was customary to nail a piece of peach-wood over the door at New Year time, believing that this

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wood warded off demons. The present-day belief in charms probably arose from this custom and is very general, and the superstition regarding them very deep; they are used in almost every phase of life.

Charms to be carried on the person are made up of all kinds of material, and worn on the shoulder, back or breast, to protect from disease, demons and every evil influence; even a cross is worn by Chinese children to prevent them from being kidnapped or harmed by foreigners. A few years ago there was a great anti-cigarette movement over an extended area in Ssŭch'uan; vile rumours were circulated about foreigners breaking graves and extracting skulls to make cigarettes, and doubtless many graves were tampered with by evilly disposed persons, whose chief object was to get the jade ornaments worn by aged persons when buried. The rumours also had it that foreigners were castrating children, and this caused thousands of children in our district alone to wear huge white crosses sewn on the backs, shoulders or breasts of their clothing. Some children wore two or even three of these cross charms to prevent foreigners touching them. The idea has become widely diffused that foreigners have a superstitious dread of the cross and will not trample on it, and I have seen lads run in front and write a cross on the road and then stand aside to see if the foreigner would tread on it.

Shao hui t'un fu (燒灰吞符), the swallow-ashes charm. Another charm is commonly made up of incantations against demons, written on yellow paper. This is burned, the ashes mixed with clean water and swallowed.

Wu fang chên chai (五方鎮宅) *fu*, the charm which protects the five corners of the house. This charm concerns the living only, and is written on yellow paper and put at the four corners of the house, a fifth one being placed at the foot of the family altar in the centre of the room. It is believed to keep the house free from demons.

Wu fang tien mu (五方奠墓) *fu*, a charm for the five corners of a grave. This is prepared and burned by geomancers to give repose to the soul of the dead; it is buried at the four corners and at the foot of the tomb.

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There is a charm written by the descendants of Chang T'ien shih (張天師), of Lung hu shan (龍虎山) in Kiang-si; it is believed to be one of the most efficacious of charms for warding off demons and healing sickness.

There is also a charm written by Ling kuan (靈官). It is said that there are seventy-two idols bearing this name, all deified after the death of different individuals who, when living, had a reputation for driving out demons and warding off evil influences. This charm is widely used and almost universally believed in wherever I have had opportunity of observation; it is generally in the form of a picture, but is sometimes placed in a small box, with a spring lid, which being touched, the *ling kuan* flies out. This is a very fierce and dreadful looking thing, which is the chief reason for its being so widely used and universally trusted.

Chu yao chan kuai (誅妖斬怪) *fu*, the kill-ghost charm, is kept in haunted houses.

Chao ts'ai chü pao (招財聚寶) *fu*, the collect-wealth charm, is often made of yellow silk and hung in the centre of the chief room of the house, or it is painted yellow on white calico.

Hsüeh fu (血符), the blood charm, is made by the sorcerer, who wounds his own brow and breast and lets the blood flow on to a piece of calico which is given to a sick person to wear on his body. At execution times people dip calico into the blood of the victim, and wear it on their persons. Large cash are also taken and stained in the blood and worn as a protection against evil influences; this practice is most common among devotees of the Lo Lo and Honan chiao.

An t'ai (安胎) *fu*, the settle-fœtus charm, is used by women who fear miscarriage, or whose beds must be moved during pregnancy; it is mostly carried on the person or tied to the bed curtains, but sometimes it is burned and the ashes swallowed.

Ts'ui shêng (催生) *fu*, the hurry-birth charm. This charm is prepared by the midwife, burned, and the ashes

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swallowed; it is used in cases of protracted labour where complications have set in.

T'ao (桃) *fu*, the peach-wood charm, which is hung up on the outside of the chief door of the house on the last day of the Chinese year, is simply a slip of peach-wood, but is widely used, being considered very effectual in driving away demons.

Ai (艾) *fu*, the artemisia charm, is used on the 5th of the 5th moon; it is a bunch of artemisia hung over the door of the dwelling-house to ward off evil.

Shan chi chao fu, the pheasant and mirror charm; a picture of a pheasant is hung in the house opposite a mirror, and when the demon comes and looks into the mirror he sees the pheasant, fears being pecked from behind and forthwith flees. This is said to be a very ancient charm.

T'ai shan shih kan tang (泰山石敢當) *fu*, the *t'ai shan* charm, or the stone warden charm. A stone from Mount T'ai in Shantung is believed to have great power in warding off demons, though any local hard stone may be used; on it will be written the above characters, "The stone from Mount T'ai dares to oppose." It is used on the streets especially at quick turnings where demons are likely to strike against it. It is largely used in country dwelling-houses and on public roads.

K'ai t'ien fu, the open-heaven charm, used in divination when the heavens are slow in response to the prayers of the family.

Chieh hui (解穢) *fu*, the purification charm, is used to purify an impure well or filthy water buckets, the charm being burned and the ashes dropped into these places. It is also used in silkworm culture at times when the silkworms become yellow instead of white, the ashes being scattered over them.

P'o yü (破獄) *fu*, the open-hell charm, used at wakes to burst open the gates of Hades and release the imprisoned soul. Then the call-spirit charm 招魂 *chao hun fu* is used, to help the soul out of Hades.

Lien hua (煉化) *fu*, the purge or purifying charm; also called the suicide charm. If anyone threatens to commit

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suicide this charm is used to drive away the demon. It is also used after deaths to purge away the bad acts of the deceased.

Chao hsien fu, the call-fairy charm. It is said that each celestial has a particular charm.

Shê kuei (攝 鬼) *fu*. The seize-demon charm is for haunted houses and is used both for wearing and for burning.

Ch'ien chiang (遣 將) *fu*, the dispatch-general charm. It is believed that there are in the spirit world thirty-six *shuai* (帥) and seventy-two *chiang* (將) or generals; and this charm can command the help of all these to ward off an attack by evil spirits.

Wu kuei fu, the five-demon charm. It is believed that the four points of the compass have their particular evil influences and one which controls the centre. This charm wards off these evil influences.

Ch'i sha (七 煞) *fu*, the seven baneful deaths charms. These seven deaths come from the following seven sources: heaven, earth, man, year, month, day, and hour.

San sha. The three baneful deaths come from the following sources, and are spoken of separately as *sui* (歲) *sha*, *ch'ieh* (刼) *sha*, *tsai* (災) *sha*, the evil influences of the year, robbery and calamity respectively.

Wu lei fu, the five-thunder charm, is used to break up an attack of ague or demon possession. It is burned and swallowed or worn on the person. The ague demons (擺 子 鬼) are said to be five in number, three cold and two hot; the two hot demons were originally named *mao* (毛), and the three cold ones named *chao* (趙). Legend has it that these five stole Lu pan's (魯 班) hatchet and chisels and on being pursued, two fell into fire and were burned and three fell into the river and were drowned. The patient blackens the face, adding patches of red over the eyes and nose; a high cap is put on his head and he goes out with a club in his hand and stands motionless in an open place. Sometimes people who want medicine for ague dare not even whisper the name of *pai tzŭ* for fear that when they speak it, it will come; they will simply give a description of the disease and sometimes hardly

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that. In some cases of ague a petition is lodged with the kitchen god, beseeching him to use his good offices.

The ague is known by these three names, *han ping kuei* (寒病鬼), *han hsia tzŭ* (瞎子), *han êrh ko* (二哥); the demon of the *han ping*, blind Han, Han number two, and is a serious sickness among the Chinese. When a person has it a staff is placed beside the wall and the sick man goes out and calls the demon, who, it is believed, takes the staff and walks out after him. When sitting in a house the custom is never to lean against the wall as this blind demon gropes around holding on to the wall and may get you.

Kuei shê (龜蛇) *fu*, the turtle and snake charm, or *shui ho fu*, the fire and water charm. The snake saves from flood and the turtle from fire; it is a picture of a red snake and a black turtle.

Chao yao ching (照妖鏡), illuminate-demon mirror, a round, brass mirror about five or six inches in diameter. It is worn by brides on the wedding day near the breast to frighten away demons who may accompany or meet them on the way; this is an ancient custom, but is dying out.

Chou hsien yin, or (虎符龍節) *hu fu lung chieh*. It is believed that the seal of the magistrate governs the demons to a depth of three feet below the surface of the ground. The proclamations issued with official seals are often defaced by cutting out the red seal mark. This is carried on the person to drive off demons. Most likely derived from the old-fashioned seals which had a tiger's head and a dragon's image on them; the seals of the present day do not have either. When a house is haunted it is not uncommon for a householder to beseech the official to stamp a few pieces of paper with his seal to hang up in the house.

P'ei ch'ih (佩赤) *fu*, to carry cinnabar red on the person, sometimes mixed with a medicinal preparation.

DOOR GODS (門神), *mên shên*.

There are many guardian spirits of doors of houses, offices, etc., as follows:

Wên and *wu mên shên*, the literary and military guardians of the door. These are put on the outside doors of dwelling

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houses, public offices and temples; the former is the picture of a civil official in the likeness of T'ien kuan, the latter, mostly seen on street doors, is generally a military official with shield and buckler, bow and arrows, ready for the fray.

T'ung tzŭ (童子) *mên shên*, the youthful door god, is the likeness of two youths with red cord tied round the hair.

Ho ho êrh hsien (和合二仙) *mên shên* is the door god of business partnership. It is a picture of four youths (two on either side of the picture), holding a large coin between them.

There is a female door god, *nü mên shên;* this is a picture of a woman, said to be one of the fairies.

Ch'in chün Hu shuai (秦軍胡帥), a picture of two military officials of the T'ang dynasty, one called Ch'in Shu pao and the other, Hu Ch'ing tê.

Lo chüeh (落脚) *mên shên*, a door god as large as the door. Only those in high office or with high degrees dare have this style of door god. Some have civil and others military officials in full dress painted or engraven on their doors the full height of the door.

Shên t'u yü li (神荼鬱壘), the mourning door god. In this case there is no picture, and all former door gods are washed or scraped off and the above four characters only are pasted two on each half of the door. Shên t'u and Yü li are said to be two brothers mourning for a parent.

P'an (蟠) *lung*, the coiled dragon door god, is only used on temple doors at the two season sacrifices. No private residence dare use it as it is typical of the emperor.

Hêng ho (哼哈) *êrh mên shên*, the Buddhist door gods, ferocious-looking, only to be seen on the doors of Buddhist temples. These two *hêng* and *ho*, are said to be parts of the goddess of mercy, who, on becoming a celestial, divided into seventy-two parts.

Tu chieh shou (獨角獸), the unicorn door god, can only be used by official families.

Chi kung mên shên, the rooster door god. This is a very ancient one, probably of aboriginal origin, and still used by the tribesmen in the mountain districts west of Kuan hsien. The rooster is believed to drive away ants and chicken blood

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drives away demons, hence the widespread use of cock's blood on the prow and stern of boats on the Yangtse. The Ssŭ-ch'uanese say that their province is a *chi lung hsüeh* (雞籠穴), a chicken coop; that is, it is surrounded by mountains, and when a coop is full the first thing to be done is to seize some chickens and kill them. This has been what other provinces have done to Ssŭch'uan in the past and what is feared in the present. So whenever trouble breaks out, chickens are killed and eaten wholesale to avert if possible this calamity.

Wu fu p'êng shou (捧壽), the five happinesses complete in old age. These five blessings are age, riches, peace, virtue, happiness. In this charm the character *shou* for old age occupies the centre with five bats fluttering around it; the five bats represent the five happinesses (蝠 for 福).

THE GODDESS OF MERCY (觀音), *Kuan Yin.*

Kuan Yin, the goddess of mercy, is said to have been the third daughter of Miao Chuang wang (妙莊王), she and her sisters being styled as follows:

Ta chieh Wên Shu (大姊文殊), Erh chieh P'u Hsien (二姊普賢), San chieh Kuan Yin (三姊觀音).

Miao Chuang wang is of aboriginal origin, and legend has it that he migrated from the Indian border to Ssŭch'uan and settled in Sui-ling hsien at a temple called Pei ch'üeh ssŭ, where his daughters became nuns. The temple where they lived was burned down; probably by their father, because of the lewd lives they were living; but legend says that the three nuns were unharmed. The worship and deification of lust is not unknown in Ssŭch'uan even now. The presence of the harlots' quarters in the city of Kuan hsien is said to preserve the good luck of the city. A few years ago when the police pulled down their houses and drove them away, several things happened which were reckoned unlucky and all was put down to the disturbing of these bad places. In some temples obscene pictures are still to be found; and the worship of the tribesmen in the Wa si region is still a worship of evil passions.

The goddess holds in her left hand a small bottle of dry dew, containing the elixir of life, which carries people over the

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sea to the bliss beyond, while in her right hand she holds a willow twig. In all probability this goddess is none other than the Queen of Heaven, worshipped by the tribesmen and Tibetans. There are among the Chinese many forms of this goddess, a few of which are herewith given.

Shui Kuan Yin, the water goddess. This image is put up in wells and by river sides. The idea is that she purifies the water and makes it fit for food. Sometimes the priests make her devotees throw cash at the image till they strike the same spot as their own pain is situated in; after the devotees have gone the priests fish up the money for their own use.

Kao Wang (高王) Kuan Yin; this form of the goddess is said to be derived from Kao huan kuo wang (高歡國王), who is said to have been condemned to death, but he invited the goddess to chant a thousand pages of the Chiu k'u ching or Save from suffering classic; and when the day of execution came, the sword broke in two, and from that time onward the goddess claimed this name among her many others.

Ch'ien shou Kuan Yin, the thousand-hand goddess, the omnipotent one. The origin of this form of the goddess is said to have been with a certain princess whose father's hand was diseased (probably cancer); she poulticed it with meat daily; but not content with this, she went to the goddess and begged her to heal the hand, which she did; this princess was afterward made into the "thousand-hand goddess," whose image is covered all over with hands, which are believed to be extended in all directions for the saving of people from suffering.

Ch'ien yen Kuan Yin. The thousand-eye goddess, able to see everywhere; the omniscient one.

Sung tzŭ Kuan Yin, the son-giving goddess. To her shrine crowds of women resort every year. She is depicted holding a child in each arm and many more clinging about her.

Nan Kuan Yin, the male god of mercy. That is, by a process of divination she may be changed into a male. This god is also called the *tz'ŭ hang tao jên* (慈航道人) and is believed to have charge of the boat of compassion which ferries people over the difficulties of life.

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Fêng po-lang Kuan Yin, the goddess of the winds and waves, and of the boatmen, who stills the turbulent waters.

Chin kang shan huo Kuan Yin, the diamond hill fire goddess. She saves people from burning houses.

Pai i Kuan Yin, the white-robed goddess. She is believed to be willing to visit the very poorest of homes and help people in their poverty.

P'iao hai Kuan Yin, the cross-sea goddess.

Wu lei fa wang (法王) Kuan Yin, the goddess of the five thunders, which issue from each of the points of the compass and one from overhead.

Tzŭ chu lin chung Kuan Yin, the goddess of the red bamboo grove.

PRECINCT OR LOCAL GOD (土地神), *T'u ti shên.*

Pên chai (本宅) or Chia shên (家神) t'u ti, the domestic precinct god; whose shrine is situated at the foot of the heaven and earth tablet. His two servants are Chao ts'ai (招財) t'ung tzŭ and Chin pao (進寶) lang chün, a pair of youths who gather wealth. He is styled the Lord of the family and also the old man t'u ti. In Ssŭch'uan the 7th of the 7th moon is his birthday, and his worship is conducted inside the house. He is said to have originated in the Yuan dynasty at which time a *chia ta-tzŭ* (家搭子) or Mongol is said to have been billeted in each family; a conspiracy was formed and on the 30th of the 12th moon they were all killed Afterwards the houses were haunted, and to pacify the spirits the slaughtered Mongol was made into the precinct god of the domestic altar, his duty being to keep away evil from the house. He is said to be a dwarf, and if on the 7th of the 7th moon there should be a rise in the river that is spoken of as *chang ai tzŭ shui* (漲矮子水) or the dwarf's flood, and it is regarded as a lucky omen.

Miao mên or Shan Mên t'u ti. The local god of the temple door. The following scrolls indicate what this idol expects: 進門先拜我, 登殿莫欺吾. In entering first worship me. In ascending the altar don't deceive me.

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Ch'êng mên t'u ti, the precinct god of the city gate, is the deputy of the city god and one is placed at each city gate.

Ya shên t'u ti, the precinct god of the yamen. This shrine is usually inside the yamen and is patronized by the yamen runners and other public servants.

Chien ch'a (監察) t'u ti, the precinct god of the judgement hall. This idol is buried or covered with a flat stone in the centre of the first pavilion of the government office; the idea is that the idol is there to listen to the evidence given and the judgement pronounced.

Yang miao t'u ti or Ching sui fu jên, the precinct god of crops, looks after the growth of the grain; if caterpillars or other pests attack it, he goes to the rescue. The shrines are very common all over the country. The scrolls on his shrine are often thus: 作一方之保障, 佑四境以平安. The protector of whole district; keeping the four boundaries in place. If he fails in his duty it is not uncommon to see this idol beheaded, his shrine roofless and the headless body exposed to the weather as a punishment for his neglect. If the vegetable gardens are robbed he is blamed for it, or if slugs or moles eat the crops. Travellers suffering from sore feet or sore back put stones in front of these shrines all along the way, believing that they will get better for so doing.

Kao shan or Shan shên t'u ti, the precinct god of the hills who protects people from wild beasts.

Wu chin t'u ti, the precinct god of mines. He governs the five metals, viz., gold, silver, brass, iron, coal; the shrine is near the entrance to the mine.

Ho chieh (閘街) t'u ti; the precinct god of the street. His shrine may be at the end or in the middle of the street.

Ch'iao liang or Ch'iao t'ou t'u ti, the precinct god of bridges; if the bridge has a roof over it, the first name is used and the shrine is situated at the centre of the bridge; otherwise the shrine will be found at either end and the second name is used to designate it.

Yao mên t'u ti, the precinct god of the kiln; all lime, brick and tile kilns have this shrine at the entrance.

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Têng kan (燈杆) t'u ti, the lamp-pole precinct god. At the New Year season, from the 7th to the 15th of the first moon, a pole is fastened to the top of a high tree near the house and a lantern hung out at night. Sometimes a pole is set up by itself and the lamp raised every night of the year; this is mostly in connection with temples and ancestral halls, but in both cases the idea is the same; first, to scatter the orphan and wandering spirits: second, it is a prayer to the Pearly Emperor for peace and plenty throughout the land.

IDOLATROUS FESTIVALS (神會), *shên hui.*

The 輔德大王 or 城隍, *Ch'êng Huang*, the city god, is believed to be an exact counterpart of the civil official. His jurisdiction extends over all the spirit world, and his shrine is a miniature yamen; many people go to it to protest their innocency. The ridiculous side in idolatry may be seen in the temple of the city god, for here we find his wife, his son and heir his bedroom and bedding and toilet requisites; the priest spreads out the bedding at night and folds it up in the morning. The city god's wife is styled *niang niang* which is a title given to an empress and much superior to *t'ai t'ai* which is the style used for the civil official's wife. On entering this temple, on the right hand is to be found the *p'an kuan* (判官) or decider of fates in Hades, while on the opposite side is *hsiao kuei* (小鬼) who is head thief-catcher or *ling pan* (領班). Standing at the side in front are found the *ken pan* or lackeys, who are at his beck and call; while further down at the entrance are the *hou pan* (吼班) or callers who go in front of the official; also in the temple court is to found the precinct god of the yamen, *Ch'êng huang t'u ti.* This idol is worshipped by yamen people in general, while close by are the famous yamen runners, Ch'in San (秦三) and Wu Ssŭ (吳泗). Ch'in San is said to belong to the T'ang dynasty, Wu Ssŭ to Hsü Chên chün 許眞君; these are worshipped by yamen runners before embarking upon a difficult case. The chicken-footed god is a conspicuous idol, with black body and tongue hanging out; by his side are his wife and family. When yamen runners

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wanted to apprehend any one, they used to make vows to this hideous image and put opium on its mouth. The *ti fang shên* or local deity, who corresponds to the headman in the country, is close by; this deity knows where every demon resides. His body is white and, like the chicken-footed god, he has a wife and family around him and is worshipped by the yamen runners. In this temple there is also that unseemly idol known as *Ho ho wu ch'ang* (赫赫無常), to frighten people into remembering that their days on earth are uncertain, and if they do not repent their end will be destruction. In Kwan Hsien city temple there is a stone city god, which was dug up somewhere in the country; when it was brought to the city the magistrate refused to admit it, saying, as in each city there was only one magistrate, so likewise only one city god could be tolerated, but after a time it was admitted and placed in a corner of the temple. In the lower courts of the city god temple are the ten Buddhist hells, presided over by the *shih tien nien wang* (十殿閻王) or ten kings of Hades. These are supposed to give a history of the soul's travail from death till transmigration takes place. These are as follows:

秦廣王. The first of the ten hells, where the spirit goes at death. Here the records of lives are kept; if the individual is very good a pass is given into the Western paradise; if very bad, he is cast into the lowest abyss for ever; if he needs purging he is sent to the other nine kings of Hades and put through their sufferings and terrors till transmigration is reached. The pains in this first hell are hunger and thirst, and there is a mirror to show up the shortcomings of each person.

楚江王. In this court the unfilial have their limbs cut off or are sawn asunder. There are here sixteen minor places of punishment, among which are the black sand cloud hell, manure hell, impaled on pikes hell, hunger and thirst hell, burning thirst, blood hell, axe hell, grindstone hell, weigh up hell, chicken hell (where chickens peck their murderers), dust river hell, cut in pieces hell, double edged sword hell, fox and wolf hell, frost and ice hell. This hell is called the living hell.

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宋帝王. In this division of purgatory all have to pass over a bridge and many fall into the water; then there is the thousand knife hill, on which many fall and are impaled. There are sixteen minor places under this king; the following may be named. The salt hell, hemp rope and cangue hell, pierce ribs hell, scrape face hell, also extracting kidneys, liver, heart, eyes and skin alive hell; amputation of foot, finger and toe nails hell, suck blood hell, hang head downwards hell, break collar bone, break knee, etc. etc.

五官王. Here are to be found the oil caldron and fire pillar for adulterers. Under this king there are sixteen other hells, such as the slough hell, pikes, scalding, extracting marrow, crush bones, brush skin, nail skin, sit on needles, sear with hot iron, prick eyes, dust filling mouth, prick lips, pour medicine, slippery road and burying hells.

閻羅王. By the side of this king of Hades are placed two demons, one with a cow's and the other with a horse's head. Here is the cold ice, the sawing asunder and other sufferings, after which it is said that the wind of Hades flows on the broken and bruised spirits and makes them whole and ready for the next court.

卞城王. In this court is an iron bound city with no way out, and the tearing out of the tongues of those who have been liars. This is called the yelling hell.

泰山王. Here the god of thunder strikes some dead, while others are killed by heaping stones over them.

都市王. This is the dirty blood hell; many are ground on the grindstone; it is called the disturbed court and has sixteen minor places of punishment under it.

平等王. In this court those who have killed dogs are eaten by dogs, and those who have killed chickens are pecked by chickens, and those who have killed horses or oxen are tormented by them.

轉輪王. When the souls reach this stage they are given some soup, called *mi hu t'ang* (迷昏湯), which makes them forget their former sorrows and existence, and they are sent forth again into the world in all kinds of different forms. This is what is known as the revolving wheel of transmigration of souls.

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The festival of the city god is the greatest event of the year in most cities, and generally extends over one month, when theatricals are acted in honour of the event; and probably many hundreds of taels squandered in every city. In many of the market towns on the Ch'eng tu plain, city gods' temples are still to be found, and the explanation is that these towns were formerly district cities with resident magistrates; they still keep their festivals on the old dates, which vary in almost every place. When the date approaches the residents and shopkeepers are visited by the heads of a society, and every house is asked to contribute to the expenses of the festival. The streets are decorated with coloured and embroidered cloth called *p'êng ts'ai.* A coolie wheels a barrow through the streets with a fire tub on which are burning the branches of the cedar tree or *pai chih* (柏枝) (these branches are widely used for disinfecting houses after disease). Following the wheelbarrow come the *p'an kuan* and the *t'u ti;* these go round on a tour of inspection to see that the streets are fit for the idol procession on the following day. This is spoken of as *sao chieh*, sweeping the streets.

Cho (捉) *han lin*, to seize the wild spirits. This is done by dressing a beggar as a demon, and placing him at a fixed point in the country. Certain persons dressed as runners of the city god go out and apprehend this person, put a chain round his neck and lead him into the city in triumph. Great crowds of people stand round to see this performance. The belief is that unless this is done trouble will break out at the theatricals during the month.

[To be continued]

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D'OLLONE'S INVESTIGATIONS ON CHINESE MOSLEMS

BY

REV. G. G. WARREN

(Concluded)

South of Lingchow, the travellers passed eight mausolea of curious shape. They were the tombs of distinguished *ahong* and were Turkish in design. In relation to the practice that Moslems have of buying children and bringing them up as Moslems there is an interesting story connected with the region now being traversed. At the time of the Boxer Rising many orphans from Catholic establishments were thus purchased. Influenced by the legend of the minstrel of Richard I., the Catholic Bishop of Mongolia sent out a number of violinists with instructions to go up and down wherever they could playing familiar Christian tunes and noting down all houses in which any of the children showed signs of recognition. Several orphans were traced in this manner.

Ninghsia is a great city; its walls are 14 kilometres in circumference but hardly one third of the enclosed space is now occupied: the rest was ruined in the Great Revolt. All the old Moslems were massacred, and all the old records burnt, hence it was impossible to learn anything of former Mohammedanism.

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North of Ninghsia, Moslems were numerous, specially round Pinglo. Many were engaged in the transport of wool and skins in navigation. Arrived at She-tsui-shan, where the Yellow River enters the Mongolian desert, the members of the Mission availed themselves of the River. The crew of their boat were all Moslems. The town of Paotow on the north bend is a great commercial centre at which nearly everything is in the hands of the Moslems. At Kuei-hua chêng there is a Moslem community of 2,000 families. There, Chinese, Mongols, Manchus and Moslems all live in the one city but each in his own quarter. There for the first time an *ahong* was met, who knew that the Sultan of Turkey was acknowledged as Caliph. He had recently returned from Peking whither he had gone at the invitation of Ali Riza and Hassan Hafiz, and one of the mementoes he had brought back was a photograph of these two *ulemas* holding the green flag of the Caliph.

The chapter which follows this description of the Moslems of Kansu is devoted to a learned notice of the eleven Persian MSS. brought by the Mission from Kansu. This is followed by a series of translations of noteworthy Chinese documents and inscriptions. The notes of Islam in Peking and Canton are intentionally brief and scrappy.

The Sixth Part consists of a brief description of 36 works on Islam all printed in China. Most of this material is now made available to the English-speaking student in more recent reviews of this sort of literature.

Chapter XXX is taken up with an interesting note on the origin of the Chinese name "Hui" or "Hui-hui" or in the west, "Hui-tsou." First, the explanation frequently found in Chinese books which takes the word "Hui" in its ordinary Chinese sense of "Return" is rejected. Of course such a meaning lends itself admirably to doctrinal purposes for a nation which is exhorted to "return" to the True Religion and the True God. If this were the proper translation of "Moslem," as is occasionally claimed, it should have been the name of Moslems from the first. But, the name does not appear until the days of the Mongol dynasty. The author sets aside two usages

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discovered by Bretschneider in earlier books on the ground that the Annals of Liao and of Chin—the two books in question—were edited in Mongol times. In a work entitled *Chu T'ien Ta Tsan tsi kai* (i.e., "Résumé of Commentaries on the Great Praise in the Prayer to Heaven") by a "descendant from Arabians" named Ma An-li, having two prefaces dated respectively 1878 and 1863, there occurs the following: "Our doctrine passed from the West to the East coming by way of the land of the Ouigurs (Chinese 'Hui-ho'). The Ouigurs bordered on China on one side and Arabia on the other, and were followers of the Arabian Religion. Hence, the Religion was called by their name. Hence we Moslems were called 'Hui-ho' i.e., Ouigurs. But during the days of the Sung and Yüan, numerous Arabic scholars arrived in China. They at once perceived that 'Hui-ho' had no *meaning* to the ordinary Chinese. They therefore altered the second character and adopted the name 'Hui-hui' the sound of which was sufficiently near the former name and the sense of which was much deeper."

There ought to be little doubt that this explanation is the correct one. With regard to the depth of the meaning, there is an interesting comment in another Moslem work which interprets the word from its form—one "mouth" character enclosing a second (even this statement will be recognized by the Chinese scholar as somewhat forced) and thus showing the two great duties of the Moslem Creed: One mouth for the praise of God; one for the purity of Moslem food!

The final chapter of the work is of such importance that I translate instead of merely epitomizing.

Under this title, I wish to sum up, more categorically than I could wish, in a few statements what stands out as the impression left on us as the result of our investigations.

In the first place, the Moslems do not appear to us to be nearly as numerous as they have been usually reckoned to be. If, as is so often stated, they amount to twenty or thirty millions, they would form from one twentieth to one thirtieth of the total population of China. But they do not come near that proportion even in the districts which we visited and they are

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the districts where Islam flourishes most of all in the empire.

All figures that have been given, rest on mere assumptions. No recent census of Moslems has been published; no traveller has attempted to make one. One is content to make generalizations concerning the proportion of the faithful and the heathen observed in certain areas. Now, such a method offers no guarantee of accuracy. In the first place, such statements vary greatly. It may be that along certain routes traversed by Europeans, Moslems are as numerous as they are reported; but there are immense tracts where not a single Moslem is found. Then again, the proportions named offer no basis of certainty. If, for instance, the number of Moslems, being small, may be estimated here and there with some degree of correctness, this is not the case with the people at large. The numbers of the population as a whole are scheduled by official authority; but the counting of the schedules, if done, is only published in very round numbers. So it is that though Europeans are numerous at Peking, their estimates of the population of the capital vary from 200,000 to a million. In the provinces, there are still fewer means of checking such estimates. Thus it comes about that we were told the population of Yünnanfu according to one amounts to 40,000, to another, 100,000; of Chengtu, 200,000 and 800,000; of Lanchowfu, 200,000 and 600,000. In these circumstances even though in certain places one finds out the number of Moslems, no proportion between their number and that of the rest of the population can be fixed that would enable the numbers to be extended beyond the actual area numbered.

I see no element permitting any calculation, even in round numbers at the present time with any appearance of truth. All that I can say is that in the parts we passed through where Moslems are more numerous than elsewhere, they do not seem to form one per cent of the population. The proportion seems much larger in Kansu than in Yünnan; but much smaller in Szechuan, which has for itself more than four times the population of the two other provinces together. Such a

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proportion might give a total of four millions of Moslems for the whole empire.

It is quite evident that all ideas on Chinese Islam which are based on such figures as thirty or forty millions of people are worthless.

One constantly reads, notwithstanding the formal contradictions made by many travellers, notably by Père Huc, Francis Garnier, Jean Dupuis and many others, that Moslems form a type that can be recognized at a glance. I cannot protest too strongly against such an idea. To be sure, here and there you get a face that would pass for that of an Arab or a Turk; some of these I have been able to show the reader, but the mass of Chinese Moslems are just like other Chinese. That does not say that they are like some type that we imagine to ourselves is Chinese; for in truth, Chinese countenances present marked and numerous variations of type. Such variations are found amongst the Moslems as they are amongst others of the people.

This observation is important. Had Chinese Moslems all a Turkish or Arab type of face, it would follow that Islam had only been propagated in China by foreigners who had come to the land and had multiplied in their descendants, a conclusion that would intimate that the Chinese race did not lend itself to conversion, and this would greatly limit the action of the religion in the past and its outlook in the future.

The reality is quite otherwise. There can be no doubt that most Moslems in China are Chinese by race. They willingly marry Chinese wives who embrace their faith; their children do the same and consequently, after a few generations, even the foreign blood that was to be noticed at the beginning would be thinned out of recognition. Frequently, inheritance goes on with an adopted son who has not a drop of foreign blood in him. But, what is still more to the point, adult conversions are by no means infrequent. They are not the result of preaching, but through the influence of some important person on those dependent on him. E.g., Moslem officers convert many of their soldiers; literary officials make even more converts. On account of their own unfixity of

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tenure, they only influence those who share their vagrant fortune with them. We found several Moslems who were recent converts, and others who could tell us which of their ancestors it was who first embraced the faith. The number of such conversions varies with the particular epoch according to the power enjoyed by the officials. Just now (1909) conversions are rare, as the court, since the Great Revolt, has shown much distrust of Moslems.

The consequence of these actual facts, established by the facial aspect of Moslems, by their family traditions and by recent converts themselves, shows that the Chinese are not stubbornly opposed to Islam. This trait is the more remarkable when we consider how frequently the precepts of the new religion run contrary to Chinese habits and modes of thought; e.g., the proscription of pork, alcohol, tobacco and opium, and especially its opposition to ancestral ceremonies which are considered to be the very base of the social edifice, the pivot of all opinions. On this point one realizes vividly how profoundly the Chinese convert feels the influence of the religion and what sacrifices he must be prepared to make for it. He has not, then, that hatred of change with which he is so often credited.

From these observations one may go on to forecast that the future of Islam is bound up with the position its members are likely to occupy. Whenever a Moslem becomes master of a province (as Tu Wên-hsiu failed to be in Yünnan, Ma Hua-lung in Kansu and Yakoob Beg in Turkestan) the majority of the population will not delay to accept Islam. And if, in the chances of revolution, a Moslem emperor should come to the throne, not many generations would pass before all the empire adopted Islam.

On the contrary, if the government should continue to practise an attitude of distrust however adroitly hidden, and should not allow Moslems to attain any real ascendancy, the number of Moslems will simply grow from mixed marriages and adoptions with a slowness that will keep the general situation unchanged.

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On the other hand, I hardly see any reason for expecting any decrease in the numbers of Moslems, apart from such incidents as massacre. Above everything, Islam lends itself in heart and brain to that principal of association which seems innate in the Chinese. Moslems form a vast society of mutual aid; in it, no poor man lives without help; each man is ready to lend help to others in all kinds of enterprise. Such an association procures for its members so great advantages that there are few reasons for wishing to leave a faith which in itself is well able to retain its converts.

Any account of the possibilities of the development of Islam must be based on the history of the past. Conversely, the recognition of the actual state of affairs as they are and of the means of propagandism that are being used, casts light on certain matters in the history of the past that have been considered to be obscure.

Much of this obscurity arises from the fact that in China the method of propagandism has nothing whatever that is parallel to the only method in which Islam spread itself in Europe, North Africa and Asia. There, its only method was the sword. Chinese history, which gives us imperial edicts and other inscriptions concerning the arrival and spread of both Buddhism and Christianity maintains an impenetrable silence with regard to Islam. The inscriptions at Canton concerning the coming of Sahab Wakkas are late, and they fit in to neither Arab nor Chinese history. It used not to be doubted that Ibn Batouta, Abou Zeyd and others found myriads of Moslems in the ports which they reached, or that in 801, some 20,000 were reckoned in one army which reached Yünnan. One proof of this was asserted to be the Arab type of countenance. Granting all this, the silence of history was strange.

Another hypothesis is necessary: during the early centuries, there was nothing worth recounting. The propagation of Islam was slow and unmarked.

In the first place we have shown that the mention of 20,000 Arabs in an invading army not only offers no proof that there were then large numbers of Arabs in the empire;

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it points to the opposite conclusion. We have shown equally clearly that the proportion of Arab blood possessed by Chinese Moslems is but small and that in the very provinces in which most Moslems are found there is no trace whatever of its presence before the Yüan dynasty. More often it can be shown that its establishment did not take place till quite a recent epoch.

There can be no doubt, however, that in the seventh and eighth centuries, Arabs were numerous in Canton and other ports, such as Hangchow, and that they had more or less important colonies at Hsi-an and other cities. But there is no indication that these sea-voyaging merchants did much in the way of propagating their religion. Neither in Chinese annals, nor in Persian and Arabic works is there any mention of Chinese converts. Even to this day the number of Moslems in the coast provinces is small. Had they been the earliest converts we should have required to know why the development has been so slow. It is most probable that these Arab business men, mainly occupied with commerce, only cared to guard themselves personally in the exercise of their religion and to regulate themselves by their own laws without merging themselves in the general population. All records indicate that this was the probable mode of action.

On the other side, the 3,000 soldiers who came with Abou Giafar settled down with no intention of returning. They married and thus became an original source of actual Chinese Moslems. It is probable that Moslem merchants, themselves of different races but journeying by one route, were able to follow in their steps without realizing that they were foreigners and not Chinese, as were the Arabs who came by sea. For these merchants did not come in together; they gradually spread themselves in those parts where we now know there were Moslems already.

It was this very small nucleus, continuously although imperceptibly growing by new arrivals, by marriages and adoption, that gave birth to a true Chinese Islam without even attracting attention, for the movement was quite insignificant. It must be noted that the histories speak of the Ta-chih or

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Arabs (or, perhaps Persians) under the T'ang; then of the Hui-hou or Ouigurs under the Liao and the Chin, and even perhaps once under each of these two dynasties[1] of the Hui-hui or Moslems, but without any indication of there being *Chinese* Moslems. During this same period, on the other hand, these very histories note with much care the preaching of the Buddhists and the progress of their propaganda, as they do also concerning the Nestorians, the Manichæans and the Mazdeans; it is impossible to admit that the Moslems would have been passed over in silence if they had been of the slightest importance.

When we come to A.D. 1070, we find Shuo Fei-êrh (Zofeir or Sofar), the ancestor of Seyyid Edjill, followed by thousands of Moslems from Bokhara, settled with them on the borders of Mongolia and China. His descendant, Seyyid Edjill Omar, took a brilliant part in the Mongol conquest of China and organized the new province of Yünnan. But Marco Polo, passing that way the year after the death of Seyyid Edjill, makes mention of Moslems there, and this is the only mention of them in all his work. He states expressly that everywhere else "the people are idolaters." Does it not appear that the Moslems were taken to Yünnan by Seyyid? We have already stated (p. 35) that the two first mosques in Yünnan were built by him, and it is to him and his son that the Moslems of the province trace their origin.

The presence of a large number of Moslems in the court of Kublai and his successors, such as the minister Ahmet, could not fail to contribute much to the progress of Islam. In this propaganda, the descendants of Seyyid played a leading part; it was his grandson, with the same name and the same titles of office, who obtained an imperial edict in 1335 which recognized Islam as the True and Pure Teaching (Tsing

(1) Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches*, I, 267, cites the exact reference under the Liao; Darby de Thiersant. *Mahometisme en Chine*, I, 6, does the same for the Chin (but other references in this book are not reliable).

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Chên Chiao), the name it has ever since retained.[1] Another edict in 1420, ordering the building of the first mosques in the capitals, Hsi-an and Nanking, shows how little Islam had spread.

The part played by the successors of Seyyid is naively affirmed by one of them, Ma Chou, one of the lights of Islam who writes, "His descendants received distinctions. *This is why* the descendants of the Prophet began to spread throughout the empire and their families to branch out and extend in the regions of the East. T'ai Tsu, the first of the Ming emperors, was so satisfied with their devotion, which they displayed as did their ancestors, that he spread these advantages to the west as well. An imperial decree authorized the marquis Hsien-ning, whose title was hereditary, to build temples in the western and southern capitals (Sian and Nanking) also in the lands of the Tien-nan (Yünnan) and of the Min and Yüeh (Fukien and Canton)."

In 1683 and 1684, Ma Chou twice requested the emperor to place him on a footing with Confucius. The emperor rejected such a daring demand. These requests are to be found in the Ts'ing Chên Chih Nan (I, 8ff.), a work of Ma Chou which is very celebrated amongst Moslems. This in itself is sufficient to show the preponderant and uncontested position occupied by this family amongst their co-religionists. It shows also that Islam owes to this family its present position in China.

From this time to the present, a period of 260 years, Moslem insurrections have succeeded each other constantly. 1648,1649 in Kansu, 1757–1759 in Turkestan, 1783 in Kansu, 1820 in Kansu and Turkestan, 1855–1873 in Yünnan, 1862–1877 in Shensi, Kansu and Turkestan, 1895 in Kansu. This continuous series of revolts proves the animosity of the Moslems against the Chinese; by what miracle would this

(1) Note by Translator: Havret states that this title occurs on the earliest extant Moslem inscription in Hsi-an, dated A.D. 742. See *Var. Sin.* No. 20, "La Stèle de Singan Fou," Pt. III, p. 19.

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animosity have been prevented from showing itself sooner had Moslems been strong enough?

Note that we know of no Moslem work, not even the name of one, before 1642. From then onwards, the issue of doctrinal works though restrained has been uninterrupted. It would seem, then, that up to that time there had been no call for such works. We add that in 1783, the emperor, surprised at the revolt of the Moslems, ordered Marshal A Kuei to examine the books of their religion. The reports of A Kuei being somewhat favourable, he appeared to be somewhat resigned on this particular matter. But his ignorance would not have existed if Islam had been of any importance.

Briefly (the history of Islam in China runs thus): No Moslem apostles; Arabs, very numerous, coming by the sea route for trade; but confined with exceedingly few exceptions to Canton and Hangchow; making no propaganda, and eventually disappearing almost entirely; a small body of Moslem soldiers coming by the land route and settling in Shensi after 757 and the prime source of Chinese Moslems, increased, perhaps, though in small proportions, by adventurers and merchants from Persia and Turkestan.

Nevertheless, some thousands of Moslems under a foreign sway do not account for a Chinese Islam. It was the Mongol dynasty which brought into China so many adventurers, soldiers, statesmen, priests, scholars and men of affairs from all Asia and even from Europe, which introduced for the first time a really large number of Moslems. In entrusting them with high office and in showing their religion an equal liberty with that shown to Confucianism, it gave them the position to propagate effectively their creed. Amongst them, a family directly descended from Mahomet took the lead and retained it—a lead purely political and in no sense sacerdotal. The numbers of Moslem increased rapidly. Nevertheless, we have to wait three centuries and a half before a *Chinese* Moslem literature is needed. At this time, the Believers found themselves strong enough, at least in Kansu, where they had been reinforced from the lands of the Levant by fresh arrivals, by encouragement, and at last by Mahomet's descendants, to

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attempt to make themselves independent. These attempts never ceased and produced successively in other provinces in a measure proportionate to the numbers of Moslems (increased by marriage, adoption and purchase, as we have pointed out) movements which gave some ground to hope for success.

What obscurity concerning the Introduction of Islam remains if this thesis be correct? It appears to flow quite naturally from the documents gathered in this work and from the traditions and observations made in various spots. Doubtless it might be changed by new discoveries establishing that apostles of Islam preached either in public or in private with even the least results, or even that Moslem foreigners came to China in sufficient numbers to constitute a race by itself. But such discoveries have yet to be made. It is somewhat designedly that I am carried on to make this theory in general lines instead of attempting to substantiate it by a detailed examination of all the documents that are now known; such an examination could only be made by a minute research along lines which do not enter the general plan of our work. But for the time being, without committing ourselves to any idea that the enquiry is closed, may we not provisionally accept such a conception which is not contradicted by any known fact and which does offer a clear and satisfactory view of events, any obscurity about which lies rather with matters that one has looked to find but which perchance have never happened? The most salient features of the Islam of today is its utter lack of organization, at least of any appearance of organization; the local communities, or parishes, are perfectly independent of each other and recognize no authority above them either in the province, or empire, or even in the whole world. The existence of a Khalif is ignored. Even if the Grand Sherif of Mecca is held to be the most venerable of the priests of the religion, no authority is imputed to him. The *imam* and *ahong* of China owe any precedence or pre-eminence that one has over any other to mere personal knowledge and reputation and in no way to any recognized hierarchy. The officiating clergy are entirely dependent on their own congregation of the Faithful, who choose them,

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receive them and dismiss them without any other investiture than that which the parish itself affords.

Such at least is what seems to be the fact; and if a fact, it falls in well with the spread of a religion through the efforts of the laity, who as they establish themselves in any centre procure for themselves a sort of chaplain, or almoner. But it badly needs explanation if the religion of today is the result of the preaching and founding of priests, for they would have retained relations with their own teacher, their only ground for being priests, and they would have jealously retained their supremacy over the disciples they themselves had made and would have become to them as apostles.

Nevertheless, in connection with our researches into the "Old Religion" we have established beyond doubt that there are several "New Religions" flourishing in Kansu with branches in Shensi, Szechuan and Yünnan. These sects, which are distinguished by their cult of saints and of tombs, acknowledge the chiefs invested by God with special blessings which are transmitted generally by heritage. In Kansu, at least, it is clear that some of the "New Religions" are affiliated to brotherhoods of the Levant, specially with the Kaderiya. Indeed, the Persian books which we found establish the fact of Chiite influence.

These same books establish incontestably the scholarship of the *ahong*. We have also brought back with us several specimens of penmanship executed before our eyes in perfectly pure Arabic. Those travellers who have hitherto ridiculed Chinese Moslems on the depth of their ignorance are not entirely deceived. The mass of believers know nothing of Arabic and cannot read a line of the Koran. As regards Chinese works on Islam, they can only be understood by students of some culture, but Moslems who are well educated are either intending to become *ahong*, in which case they study Arabic, Persian and Turkish, in which languages, of course, all important Moslem literature is to be found, and these men have comparatively little time to devote to the study of Chinese; or they are intending to take office, in which case their studies are confined to the curricula laid down for the

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government examinations. Thus, the *ahong* are weak in Chinese literature and can neither be authors nor deep students; the officials are weak in the literature of their religion and know no Arabic. Hence it comes about that Moslem literature is not large and reflects rather Confucian than orthodox Moslem opinion; it enables us to know how much the laity know, but tells nothing from the priests' standpoint.

In fine, our researches point to somewhat new views concerning the relatively weak numbers of Chinese Moslems, concerning the very limited proportion of foreign blood amongst them, concerning the recent period of the spread of their religion, concerning the method of propagation, which has been due neither to any apostolate, nor to any immigration of believers from other countries, but simply to the political followers of certain important personages reinforced by social, rather than religious actions, such as marriage, adoption and purchase, and a strict solidarity in the promotion of the interests of Moslems; concerning the subordinate part taken by the *ahong*, who do not form a clergy; their real scholarship, limited, however, to a knowledge of the literature from the Levant; concerning the utter ignorance of the mass of believers and indeed to a less extent of the educated amongst them, who have, in fact, no way of coming to an understanding with the *ahong*, the *ahong* knowing so little of Chinese; the educated, nothing of Arabic; and lastly, concerning the influence of Sufiism, Chiism and brotherhoods.

At the same time we are careful not to assert that these matters are set forth scientifically. We present them as they appear to us as the result of our enquiry which, for the reasons I have given, we do not pretend to have been anything but superficial and incomplete.

Also, the only conclusion that appears to me to be legitimate is the need of fresh enquiry conducted by the means and concerning the matter which the very deficiencies of our enquiry have revealed.

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This is what I should sketch as the right method: It should be conducted by one who combines in himself the erudition of Chinese and Arabic lore. Knowing the difficulty of securing this condition, it may have to suffice that the Sinologue shall have to be accompanied with a Moslem really acquainted with all that concerns his religion, its varied sects, its brotherhoods, its history. Such a Moslem could converse fully with the *ahong* by means of Arabic, at least by writing it; his help would be indispensable for the examination of books from the Levant and for points of doctrine and ritual.

The enquiry should bear on the following points:

(1) The number of Moslems. This number is not difficult to find out. The Moslems do not live dispersed, nor are they unknown; they are always grouped in communities, the existence of which is known to all. These communities, with very rare exceptions, are found on the main routes of traffic, for the Moslems are merchants and carriers rather than agriculturists; moreover the main routes being few in number in all mountainous parts of the land, can be visited without excessive trouble. If any community should be too far from the itinerary, the information that may be gathered would be sufficient to leave no large part in error, for in every place the leader of the community and the *ahong* know perfectly the number of the Faithful. In the plains of China where research might seem beforehand to be less easy, Moslems are far less numerous and it is easy to get to know from missionaries, from officials or from other Moslems, at what places communities are to be found without any loss of time in searching them out.

In every place it would be necessary to copy all inscriptions relating to Islam and the principal events in its history. This would give an exact outline of the march and progress of propagation. One should secure a complete catalogue of all the Arabic, Persian and Chinese literature, the *ahong* possesses. Such lists as we have published might form the basis; but there would be much either to add or to omit, for most of the *ahong* have a mere dozen books; the richest have scarcely

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a hundred. One would at the same time, mechanically one may say, measure the knowledge of the clergy.

The translation of the principal works written in Chinese which we report on, it would be well to complete before beginning the enquiry. This would furnish the same information concerning the better instructed of the laity.

At the same time, the Moslem enquirer would be able to tell of the orthodoxy of the ritual, of the zeal of the Faithful, of the affiliations possibly existing between the sects and brotherhoods. The schools, the number of the scholars, the curriculum of studies, the careers followed by the students, should form the object of special attention.

Finally, not only should the Moslem officials met with be noted, but in each Moslem centre one should indicate the officials who have gone out, most of whom would be amongst the idolaters and could not be met with personally. One should get information concerning the leading families and should search out their genealogy. This would show whether they are traced back to a foreign ancestry—of such we found none except in Kalisu—or, at what period conversion took place, under what circumstances and also what part they themselves have taken in the propaganda. This part one should emphasize in regard to the more distinguished families and personages and should verify it when visiting places indicated.

Such a programme seems immense. In reality, it is not. I am quite sure that an active traveller, if he makes precise arrangements and makes his itineraries carefully, can visit all the communities in China with but few and insignificant exceptions about which enquiries would suffice. By allowing for a stay of two or three weeks in such centres as Chengtu, Yünnanfu, Hochow, Hsi-an, Peking and in a hundred other places of a day or two, one should need altogether two years, on condition of being aided by a Moslem from the Levant and two from China, of whom one should be an *ahong* who has studied the matter beforehand, and the other a good scholar. Both should be of use in introducing and as agents of information in two different kinds of ideas.

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It goes without saying that an enquiry so conducted could not answer every query, and there would remain a place for the study of infinite details. One would no longer go without knowing whether Chinese Islam sprang from a great people or from an autochthonous source ; from an ancient organization or a comparatively recent one ; from a faith without effect on pure China and continuing without effect, or, on the contrary, mainly from its own propagation ; from groups isolated from the rest of Islam, or from groups united with it by secret bonds.

Whether such an enquiry confirms or contradicts the new hypothesis inspired by our observations, we should not regard work as in vain if it be the means of provoking such an enquiry.

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A NOTE ON MULTIPLE BIRTHS IN CHINA

BY

R. F. JOHNSTON, C.B.E.

Mr. B. Laufer contributed to a recent issue of the *New China Review* an interesting article on "Multiple Births among the Chinese."[1] Among the various authorities cited by him he did not, I think, mention the General Topography of the Province of Honan (河南通志). The section in that compilation which is devoted to "Remarkable Occurrences" covers a period of very great length—namely from the time of the fabulous Fu Hsi (伏羲) up to the eighteenth century. No multiple births are mentioned until we come to the year 1432 A.D.; but from that date to 1732 (a period of exactly three hundred years) there are 26 cases of triplets recorded as having occurred within the province. Of the first case we are told that in the 7th year of Hsüan Tê, a Chêng Chou (鄭州) woman gave birth to three children and received an imperial bounty of grain and silk. This and the two following cases belong to the Ming dynasty (1432, 1526 and 1596). The 23 remaining cases occurred during the Ch'ing period, under the dates 1668, 1676, 1678, 1689 (2), 1694, 1701 (2), 1702, 1703, 1709 (3), 1713, 1718, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1732. In nearly every case it is recorded that gifts of food and cloth or silk were granted by the

(1) See Vol. ii, No. 2, pp. 109 ff.

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Throne. This custom of making imperial gifts to the parents of triplets reminds us of the "king's bounty" granted on similar occasions in England. It would be interesting to ascertain the earliest recorded instance of the practice in China.

With regard to this list of Honan triplets, the sex is not definitely stated in the four first cases, but in every other case we are told that the infants were all male. It seems probable as Mr. Laufer has pointed out, that the birth of female triplets was not recorded.

As all the Honan triplets are assigned to a comparatively short period of three centuries, we should not assume that no such births took place before 1432 but merely that they were not officially recorded.

Mr. Laufer has given us a list of thirty quadruple births in China for a period of over eleven hundred years—namely 473 to 1608. The Honan Topography contains no instances of such births. It may interest readers, however, to know that the following paragraph appeared in a Peking daily newspaper (順天時報) as recently as the 30th May this year. It states that the wife of a man named Shih, living outside the Anting Gate of the capital, had just given birth to four infants, boys and girls.

生產四胎. 安定門外下關三座橋地方住戶石某之妻某氏懷孕數月腹大如鼓茲於昨日忽然腹部疼痛知係臨產其家人將收生婆接到未逾片刻即產生嬰兒男女四個因此遠近人民均傳爲奇事云.

Wishing to ascertain the true facts of this case I sent a trustworthy messenger to enquire into the circumstances. From his report it appears that the announcement was true in every detail with the exception of the statement as to the sex of the infants. As a matter of fact they were all male. This is interesting in view of the fact that of the thirty cases of quadruplets recorded by Mr. Laufer no fewer than twenty-five, or over eighty-three per cent., consisted exclusively of males. My messenger, as a result of his enquiries, gave me the following additional information: The father is Shih Chên-t'ing (石振廷), aged 35. His wife, whose surname was

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Yen (閻), is 34 years of age, and had previously given birth to two sets of twins, all girls. Two of the four girls are still alive. She also gave birth to a son, who did not survive. The boy was her first child and was born when she was seventeen years of age. The quadruplet birth took place at 11:00 A.M. on the 11th of the fourth month (lunar calendar)—that is, May 28th, 1920. The midwife was a woman named Chai (翟), over fifty years of age. This last piece of information is given here not because it is in any way interesting in itself but because it is regarded by the neighbours of the happy parents as extremely important, though for what reason I have been unable to ascertain.

The mother's condition is reported to be very satisfactory. The youngest of the four boys died a few days after birth, but the rest appear to be quite healthy and normal. The father's views on the domestic situation have not been divulged; but any feelings of depression which may have assailed him on that fateful morning last month when he became a father in quadruplicate have doubtless been dispelled, to some extent, by the arrival of various congratulatory presents of money, grain and silk, which, in accordance with imperial precedent, have been bestowed upon the family by the President of the Republic and by local officials.

I may conclude these remarks (which should be regarded as nothing more than a footnote to Mr. Laufer's admirable essay) by alluding to a curious superstitious belief which I have found existing in Peking. The belief is (or was) that when male triplets were born one of the infants had to be put to death, in pursuance of a command from the Court; the reason being that if the three infants survived childhood, one of them would make an attempt to dispossess the ruling dynasty and seize the throne. I have not the slightest reason for supposing that any such barbarous practice ever existed in China. Most probably the belief in it is connected with folk-lore and old-world legend, perhaps not of Chinese origin. Professsor H. Usener, commenting on the stories of Christ's Nativity, remarks that "a massacre of innocents and, as the motive for it, fear of the threatened advent of a new ruler,

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were already current material for legend, as is shown by the romantic story of Marathus concerning the birth of Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 94.)" (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, s. v. "Nativity"). Perhaps some of the readers of the *New China Review* have come across the strange Chinese belief to which I have alluded and may be able to throw some light upon it. It cannot be very general or widespread as it is not referred to, as far as I am aware, by any writer on Chinese superstitions, and is quite unknown to several educated Chinese residents in Peking whom I have consulted.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

CHINESE AND WESTERN CHRONOLOGY.—In the works of many sinologists the reign-periods of Chinese sovereigns are made to coincide exactly with the years of the Christian era. Thus, for example, the reign-period of K'ang Hsi is given as 1662–1722, that of his successor as 1723–1735, and so on. But Chinese sovereigns were not so accommodating as to die always at midnight on the 31st day of December of the year of the Christian era, so as to enable their successors to date their reigns from the 1st of January. It is best therefore, subject to qualifications presently to be made, to write the above dates 1662–1723, 1723–1736, and others in like manner.

This raises the question whether the dates of the Christian era coincide with the Chinese periods in question. Did, for instance, Yü the Great die in 2197 B.C.? In most cases we must reply in the negative. And for the following reasons. Firstly, the dates assigned to the long reigns of the very earliest sovereigns probably represent months or some shorter periods than years of twelve months as now understood (thus explaining reigns of a hundred years or more). Therefore, for example, 2953–2838 B.C. could not correctly represent the reign-period of Fu Hsi (the question of his mythical character does not affect the argument). The result of rectification in these cases would be that the reigns would be later than the

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dates given in the chronologies. Secondly, the reign of a successor is often reckoned by the Chinese as dating only from the beginning of the Chinese year following that in which the preceding sovereign died; and this beginning of the Chinese year may fall in another year of the Christian era from that given in our Western chronologies of China. This shows the further necessity of indicating the date of the actual as well as the nominal beginning of each reign. Thirdly, in regard to modern dates some discrepancy may be found to exist as the result of the adoption, in the year 1582 and during the following century, of the Gregorian in place of the Julian calendar by all the European nations except Russia, Greece, Servia, etc., and the change, from 1752 onwards, in reckoning the beginning of the year from the 1st of January, instead of from the 25th of March

For most practical purposes the dynastic tables as given in the late Mr. W. F. Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual* serve very well (care being taken to remember that the first eight dates are wrong and that some further mistakes, typographical and other, occur in the rest of the tables); but at times it may be necessary to know the exact synchronization of two years or shorter periods, Chinese and Western; and this is at present impossible.

In view of the above observations, it is clear that the tables of Mayers, the *Chronological Tables* of Mr. Theodore Wong, the *Chung hsi li nien piao* of Mr. Ch'ên Pao-ch'ên, the elaborate work of Arendt, even the still more elaborate *Synchronismes Chinois* of Père Tchang and *Concordance des Chronologies Néoméniques Chinoise et Européne* of the late Père Hoang,[1] and the few other existing similar works, would require revision and readjustment to make them synchronologically accurate. But realization of what is implied in the task of making the calculations and researches necessary to adjust exactly all the dates in Chinese chronology

(1) The latter work comes nearer to perfection on this subject than any yet published.

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so that they will coincide with those of our Western chronology (since it would involve synchronizing even the months and days) may well cause the mind to recoil. It would probably take the best part of a life-time, and in these unchristian days no one with the necessary knowledge and skill is likely to be willing to devote the whole or even the greater part of his working life to the accomplishment of a task which would be chiefly useful in facilitating the work of others. He would be the less inclined to do this since he would, in all probability, get no reward (beyond the satisfaction of accomplishment) or even thanks for his pains.

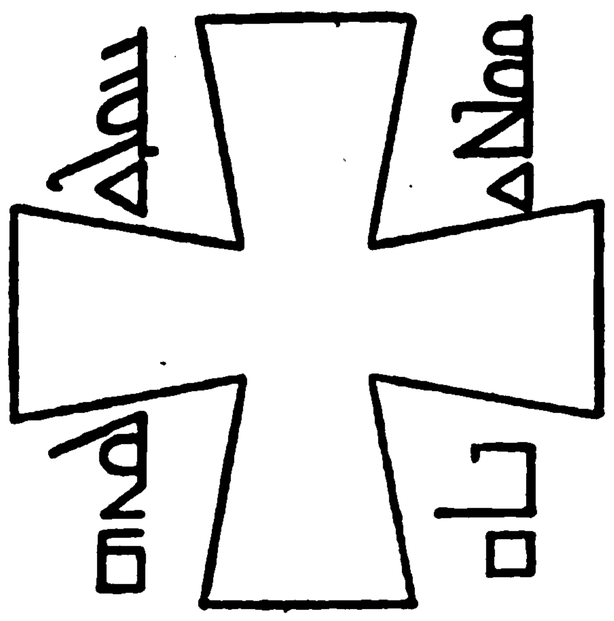
E. T. C. WERNER.

* * *

THE TEMPLE OF THE CROSS. The *Review* of July, 1919, in "Notes and Queries," contained a note by the writer with reference to a temple of the above name in the district of Fang-shan to the south-west of Peking. The name 十字寺 was therein misprinted 什字嗣.

The *New China Review* of October, 1919, contained an extremely interesting article by Mr. Christopher Irving under the title "A Chinese 'Temple of the Cross'" which dealt with the same temple. Mr. Irving had discovered two stones at the east and west corners of the terrace in front of the main hall of the temple bearing crosses of presumably Christian origin, which had evidently given rise to the name of the temple. These crosses had escaped the attention of the writer on the occasion of his first visit to the temple.

He has recently paid a further visit and discovered the existence, on the eastern of the two stones bearing crosses, of an inscription of which a rough illustration is here reproduced. This inscription, which had escaped the attention of Mr. Irving owing to the unfavorable weather at the time of his visit, appears to a non-expert to be a form of Mongol, and



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on the assumption that it is in an archaic form of that script a friend of the writer suggests that it may be read "Jibgolangto Borhanu Fu (?)," the last word being, on this supposition, one borrowed from the Chinese. The writer is given to understand that such borrowings do occur frequently in *Manchu* inscriptions and it is possible that the same practice has been followed in this instance. If the above transliteration and suggestion are correct, the inscription would read " Majestic Buddha's bliss," in which case the inscription would perhaps be one added during the early years of the Mongol conquest of China.

It is hoped that some reader of the *Review* who has knowledge of Central Asian scripts will confirm or correct the above suggestions as to the nature and meaning of the inscription.

* * *

In our last number, opposite p. 270, a Chinese picture was given, but reference to it was accidentally omitted. It is a portion of the same Winter Landscape of which two parts appeared in No. 2. The painting is in Mr. Strehlneek's collection, and we are indebted to that gentleman for the reproduction.

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